

**A
HISTORY
OF THE
FREEDOM MOVEMENT**

VOLUME II

1831-1905

PART II

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CHAPTER XIII

THE IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE UPON THE MUSLIMS

It was natural that the loss of the Empire should affect the Muslims adversely. They had permitted power to slip from their hands because of lack of foresight and of failure to understand the issues which were involved in the rise of new powers in the realm, until it was too late. When the Marathas established themselves as virtual rulers in important areas, they were able to secure the co-operation of the notorious Sayyid Brothers on the one hand and of some selfish or ignorant '*ulama* on the other. Some of the Muslim nobles continued to woo the Marathas even after it was absolutely obvious that they intended to uproot the Muslim power everywhere. The '*ulama* who supported the Marathas issued a *fatwa* to the effect that because the Muslim Governors were still permitted to function and the Muslim Qazis had not been dismissed, it was not a religious obligation to fight against the Marathas.¹ It is obvious that legal pettifoggery and selfishness had kept the Muslim masses in ignorance of the fact that they were being deprived of their heritage. This had developed an attitude of mind which forbade any action when the story was repeated by the British. Muslim Princes began to seek their help and co-operation and gradually accepted their tutelage. How could the masses think that anything was wrong when their natural leaders were accepting the growing British power as one of the servants of the Mughul Empire?

¹ Hunter, W. W., *Our Indian Musalmans*, p. 145.

The issues were further confused by the seemingly greater strength of the Marathas. Only Tipu Sultan had been able to gauge the situation correctly ; but then he had been successfully isolated by British diplomacy and Muslim selfishness. Shah Wali-ullah's efforts and Ahmad Shah Abdali's victory produced no lasting results so far as the revival of Muslim power was concerned ; the way for the British was cleared and the crushing defeat of the Marathas paved the path for a more complete and crushing servitude for the Muslims. The Maratha rule was not so thorough in its hostility to the Muslims. Indeed towards its end the Marathas had developed a remarkable degree of toleration, which of course, they cultivated by adopting many Mughul institutions and methods of government. They gradually discarded their early predatory traditions and took more or less to civilized forms of government. The British were made of different metal. They were much more circumspect and their policies were based upon deeper calculations and forethought. They were never able to forget that the Muslims were politically ambitious in spite of their degradation. The British had one fixed belief: that the Muslims could not be reconciled to their rule, and that they would not, in spite of their weakness, desist from making efforts to win their freedom. This consciousness was further strengthened by prejudice against Islam and the Muslims which the Western nations have never been able to conquer. Every Western child is taught the history of the Crusades, in which, the defending Muslims, whose territories were invaded, are the villains of history.

The writings of Western orientalist even today are deeply coloured by their missionary zeal, and the number of objective writers is small. Among the British orientalist the number of objective writers has been even smaller, because of imperialist reasons; even these are

comparatively new. During the heyday of British rule in the subcontinent of Hind-Pakistan, Islam and the Muslims received little except abuse and misrepresentation. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan found it necessary not only to create better feelings for the Muslims among the British rulers but to defend Islam itself. In this way religious prejudice and political foresight alike made it impossible for the British to show any consideration to the Muslims ; on the contrary, it was certain that the Muslims would be exposed to special hostility.

The alliance between the Hindus and the British was not only inevitable but also politic. From the very beginning the East India Company almost exclusively employed the Hindus as its agents and servants. The conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Daulah was backed by the Hindus, who were led by their greed and shortsighted selfishness to join the British against the ruler of the Province ; Mir Ja'far was merely their nominee.¹ Nawab 'Aliwardi Khan had treated the Hindus so well that his Government had almost been run by them. Orme says about the influence of the Hindus in his reign that "the Gentoo (Hindu) connection became the most opulent influence in the government of which it pervaded every department with such efficiency that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge".²

Most of them, however, betrayed this confidence by joining the British conspiracy against 'Aliwardi Khan's successor, Siraj-ud-Daulah. Mir Ja'far was offended by the hostility of some of his Hindu officers, but the British did not permit him to dismiss them.³ Mir Qasim had an inveterate enemy in Shitab Rai, who poisoned the ears

¹ Orme, R., *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (London, 1803), II, 53.

² *Ibid.*

³ Orme, II, 277, 359; also Scrafton Luke. *Reflections on the Government Indostan*, pp. 104-14.

of the English against the Nawab.¹ His son, Kalyan Singh, canvassed Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah 'Alam against Mir Qasim and in favour of granting the *diwani* to the British.² Indeed throughout this period when the British were establishing themselves in Bengal, they were supported by the Hindus. In return, the British did all they could, without sacrificing any of their own interests, to help the Hindus. Whenever they needed native help, they employed the Hindus ; whenever they could do away with a Muslim, they did not hesitate in doing so. So great was this prejudice that even the Persian teacher of Warren Hastings was a Hindu.³ This attitude lasted long after the Mutiny. The Muslims were looked upon as the natural enemies of Christianity and Britain.⁴ The Muslims could not be expected to be grateful to the British for uprooting their Empire ; the Hindus often helped the British in establishing their dominance. It was, therefore, natural that the British should be partial to the Hindus and adopt policies ignoring or even injuring the interests of the Muslims.

It was more than a decade after the end of the ' Mutiny ', by which time the Muslims had been completely crushed and humiliated, when Hunter wrote that " the Musalmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India. For some reason or other they have held aloof from our system, and the changes in which the more flexible Hindus have acquiesced, are regarded by them as

¹ Singh, Kalyan, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, MS. in Oriental Public Library, Patna, India, f. 102a.

² *Ibid.*; there is an entire chapter on Shitab Rai and the part played by him and his son in these dealings under the caption, an account of Maharajah Shitab Rai, reinstallation of Mir Ja'far, etc.

³ He was a man called Raja Navakrishna of Sobhabazar, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1843, volume VII, 2200.

⁴ Lambick, H. T., *Sir Charles Napier and Slad*, p. 28.

deep personal wrongs".¹ The reasons are not far to seek. It has been mentioned in another place that the Muslims found it difficult to reconcile themselves with the loss of political power ; they found it no less difficult to discard their cultural heritage, particularly when the Christian missionaries were proclaiming from the housetops that the impact of Western knowledge would necessarily result in conversion to Christianity. The missionary schools had achieved some success among their early pupils, and there had been a few notable conversions among those who had acquired higher education of the Western type. It is true that these conversions were limited to the Hindus, but this could not reassure the Muslims completely. They also felt that secular knowledge divorced absolutely from their religion could not but, in the long run, undermine the faith of their children.

This is difficult for Westerners to understand. Their own literature is so deeply immersed in ideas derived from Christianity that a secular education based upon that literature and thought does not play the same havoc with the religious beliefs of European children as it does with the beliefs of children belonging to other faiths. Yet in many Western countries, there has been little divorce between the educational system and religion. Where there has been, belief in religion has declined. The suspicions of the Muslims were not entirely unjustified. The missionary zeal shown by Government officers, which was such a strong contributory cause of the Mutiny, could not give the Muslims any confidence in the new educational system. The Muslim attitude, however, was not completely negative. It was a Muslim who had

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The most prominent feature in the civil government of the Company is almost the entire exclusion of native agency. The offices held by natives are only those of the lowest description such as could not be the object of ambition to any European; and the salary attached to these appointments is such as barely affords to themselves and their families the means of subsistence." Colonel Walker's reply to the ninth question of the Directors in *East India Papers*, 11, 183, 184

suggested to Warren Hastings that the East India Company should take some interest in the education of the Muslims; the result was the establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah. If it did not function well, or if the East India Company changed its policy and the Madrasah did not serve the original purpose of training Muslims for employment under their new masters, it was not the fault of the Muslims. Before the 'Mutiny' Delhi was having a new orientation toward the Western science, but the disturbed conditions of the War and its aftermaths destroyed this effervescence. If the Muslims, after the brutal vengeance wreaked upon them after the 'Mutiny', did not harbour any great affection for the rulers or their knowledge, it is not surprising.

The Muslims did not make any enthusiastic efforts to acquire Western knowledge, but the British also made no effort to understand their point of view; it never occurred to the East India Company that it might be worth their while to reconcile the Muslims and to persuade them to join the new schools. It was the blood bath of the 'Mutiny' which led some Britishers to ask themselves the question whether they could do anything to remove the ill-feeling from the minds of the Muslims. Even then there were not too many who thought that it was fruitful to do so. Up to the 'Mutiny' it is an unrelieved tale of brutal effort to crush the Muslims. If they did not make the effort to qualify themselves, it was their own funeral, and so much the better, because in this way "the enemies of Christianity and the British" were destroying themselves. "The mild Hindu", who was so adaptable and such a good friend of the British power in India, would prosper at the expense of the irreconcilable and 'fanatic' Muslim. Heavy as the load of subjugation was for all the inhabitants of the subcontinent, it was doubly crushing for the Muslims who were so violently disliked by the new rulers.

The first impact of the British rule upon the Muslims was in the political sphere. It was not simply a matter of the loss of political power. The higher posts had not been monopolized by the Muslims, but they had the lion's share. The British soon developed the policy of not trusting the Indians with any responsibility, and all the higher posts, even those of district officers were reserved for men of their own nationality ; the lower posts were already mostly in the hands of the Hindus, so far as the revenue administration was concerned, and if there happened to be any Muslims, they were soon squeezed out.¹ Similarly in the armed forces, no Indians were given higher posts ; the highest they could reach was to become *Subahdars* or *Risaldars*, which brought them less salaries than those of British privates. The Muslims were very badly hit ; they had been prominent in the military commands of the Muslim rulers ; now they were unemployed. Even in the ranks the East India Company employed the Hindus in much larger numbers than the Muslims. The Brahmins from Oudh alone formed more than sixty per cent of the sepoy army. Soldiering had been a popular profession with the Muslims ; this was also gone. The loss of opportunities of employment in Government service was felt so strongly by the Muslims for two reasons : they were the major losers because they had been so dependent upon it ; and then the small number of posts which were still available to the natives, went by preference to the Hindus. In view of the prejudice against them, they found it futile to take to British education ; in case they did compromise with their pride and even with their conscience, they could see little reward. The loss of political power, therefore, was coupled with economic distress, which ruined many a prominent family. Their prestige was gone ; their influence had departed ; they were

¹ Dutt, Romesh, *The Economic History of British India, 1757-1837* (London, 1906), pp. 57, 58 ; Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

economically ruined.

It is, therefore, not surprising that they found it so hard to reconcile themselves to the loss of political power, of which the Empire was a symbol, or to their new rulers, who had brought all this misery upon their heads. This situation soon became a vicious circle. The Muslims found no way out of their difficulties, except that of planning to recapture their power, and, for this, they incurred further animosity of the British. Even if economic difficulties had not been so severe, a proud people does not accept the loss of its political power easily, but when it became a choice between slow poison and lingering death on the one hand and dangerous and desperate effort on the other, the Muslims had little difficulty in deciding which path they would tread.

The question of conscience was also involved. There could be no true loyalty for a thinking mind to the destroyers of Muslim power. The Muslims do not make good hypocrites. Even in 1871, they were openly discussing whether they could lawfully give their allegiance to the British. The answer was not even then clear. The utmost limit to which the more careful jurists of Islam would go was that, in view of the conditions then prevailing, it was incumbent upon the Muslims to wage a war against the British to recapture the Empire. It was at the insistence of the British that a number of persons realizing that any other policy would completely ruin the Muslims, embarked upon a loyalty campaign.¹ By now the British also were beginning to realize that it was politic to win over the Muslims to some extent. It was obvious that after the crushing defeat of the 'Mutiny' and the campaigns against the *Mujahids* of Sayyid Amad Shahid's movement, the Muslims were no longer in a position to question the might of the British Empire ;

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*

a sullen and hostile community of millions of people is neither an asset for an empire nor free from danger in times of stress. The British, by the end of the nineteenth century, were beginning to find that "the mild Hindu" was thinking in terms of demanding more rights and power, and it might serve the purpose of counterbalancing his influence to reconcile the Muslims to some extent and overcome, for reasons of the Empire, their own antipathy for Islam and the Muslims. It was under these circumstances that the Movement of Sir Syed could succeed.

This should not be understood to mean that it was only self-interest at a personal level which was responsible for the hostility of the Muslims to the British, because the pride in Empire was genuine and loyalty to it, a living factor. The British had to be exceedingly circumspect in dealing with the Emperor. They moved slowly, striking at two fronts. The East India Company built up its own power and simultaneously made the Court of Delhi realize gradually and slowly that the circumstances had changed. At the same time, the Muslims were gradually weakened so that their power to create difficulties was slowly but surely sapped. Some modern British authors have advanced the view that the Company could easily have removed the powerless Emperor much earlier. This is not the view of Hunter, so fully conversant with the feelings of the Muslims at the time. He says, "The truth is that, had we hastened by a single decade our formal assumption of the sovereignty, we should have been landed in a Muslim rising infinitely more serious than the Mutiny of 1857."¹

To the loss of the Empire had been added the loss of the territories where Muslim power was still extant. The war against Tipu Sultan had been

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

waged with unrelenting vengeance. The British found an excellent excuse for restoring authority to the Hindu Raja ; it also served the purpose of wiping out another centre of Muslim power. To the Muslims it meant that they lost another area where they had wielded supreme power. It is true that in the matter of employment they were not so badly off in Mysore as they were in directly administered areas ; still it was not the same as Muslim rule. When Carnatic was annexed, the position there was as bad as in Bengal because the British had little use for the Muslims in their services. The loss of Oudh was the last straw so far as the Muslims of Northern India were concerned. The Court of Lucknow had been an asylum for Muslim talent ; not only did unemployment increase but Muslim learning and arts also faced annihilation. The plight of the Muslims in the British possessions has been aptly described by Hunter, when he says " to this day, they (the Muslims) exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of warlike enterprise ; but in all other respects they are a race ruined under British rule."¹ At another place he remarks that " a hundred and seventy years ago it was impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to be poor ; at present it is impossible for him to continue rich".² He cites many instances which show how all avenues of profitable employment were denied to the Muslims and how even in petty appointments the Hindus were not only preferred but the doors were barred against the Muslims. Even the Government advertisements sometimes made it clear that only Hindus need apply for the post advertised.³ Hunter gives statistics which show that out of 2,111 posts of a certain category, only 92 or a little over four per cent were occupied by Muslims ; he adds that in less

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

conspicuous posts they were more completely excluded.¹

The East India Company, in the beginning, had employed Muslims to advise the courts on law ; because the code applied by the courts was the Islamic *Shar'*, their services were necessary. With the growth of the power of the East India Company, that system was discarded, and the Muslim legal advisers became superfluous.² The Muslims resented this not only because it meant unemployment for them but also because the replacement of their law was distasteful to them. The Marathas had respected this feeling of the Muslims, and the jurists, at least some of them, had ruled that so long as the laws of Islam were enforced and there were Muslim *Qazis* it was not incumbent upon the Muslims to fight the Government. The Muslim personal law was still respected, and, therefore, the Muslims did not feel the impact of the new laws so strongly ; yet they were unhappy that their own personal law which was canonical should be applied and interpreted by those who did not believe in it and could seldom be sensitive to its spirit. Besides, the replacement of the Great Mughul's law by laws enacted by the East India Company seemed a breach of trust to them because the acceptance of the *diwani* had implied that the laws of the realm would be respected. This, of course, was an unrealistic attitude, because the British had not captured power to enforce the laws of the Mughul Empire or to base their legal system upon the dictates of Islam. The grievance about the administration of the Muslim personal law was more justified.

It was not only the loss of opportunities in the Government services which led to the impoverishment of the Muslims ; in other fields of economic activities as well the Muslims had been great sufferers.

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

The external trade of the subcontinent had been in the hands of the Arabs even before the establishment of Muslim rule. This tradition was broken only when the Muslims lost control over maritime communications. Muslim trade was reduced but it did not come to a sudden end. In the days of the Great Mughuls we read of Muslim traders still fitting out and sending ships abroad with their merchandise. This trade, nevertheless, was diminishing because the European companies often resorted to piracy. On several occasions they were punished for such activities by the Mughul Government, which, however, because of its neglect in building up a proper navy, was not able to give any protection to the vessels of its subjects on the high seas. The Muslims lost the bulk of the overseas trade, though they still carried on a precarious coastal trade in the Persian Gulf and even with areas beyond ; this trade was of meagre dimensions and gradually died. These merchants then turned their attention to internal trade in the subcontinent itself. This also declined because of the growth of anarchy and the consequent lack of security. What these factors were not able to achieve was accomplished by the British. The methods adopted by the servants of the East India Company were such as would have killed trade anywhere.

The Nawabs of Bengal recognized the right granted to the East India Company to carry on the Company's import and export trade duty free ; this in itself gave the Company advantage over the native traders.¹ The servants of the Company, who engaged in private trade, on their own account claimed exemption for their goods in transit from one place of Bengal to another.² The goods of the native merchants were heavily taxed. Vansittart, who succeeded Clive as Governor in 1760, wrote, " With respect to trade no new privileges were asked of Meer Jaffer ; none indeed were wanted by the Company

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716. However, our influence over the country was no sooner felt than many innovations were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority. They began to trade in the articles which were before prohibited, and to interfere in the affairs of the country."¹ This trade was carried on with every accompaniment of cruelty. Verelst, another Governor, wrote "a trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents or Gomashtahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, blinding and punishing the Nabob's officers whenever they presumed to interfere."² So great was the terror that Warren Hastings noted that at the approach of his party, "most of the petty towns and serais were deserted and the shops shut up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us".³ The methods of trade pursued by these people can be judged from what Sergeant Brego has to say on the point: "A gentleman sends his gomashta here to buy or sell", writes Brego, "he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or sell him theirs ; and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues."⁴

This was not all. Their method of eliminating competition was simple and effective. They did not "suffer any person to buy or sell the articles they trade in ; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put into practice," that is, they were flogged or imprisoned. "What things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable less than another merchant, and often times

¹ *A Narrative of the Transaction in Bengal*, I, 24.

² *View of Bengal*, p. 48.

³ Letter, dated April 25, 1762.

⁴ Letters, dated May 26, 1762.

refuse paying that.”¹ The result also is described by the same writer: “This place is getting destitute of the inhabitants ; every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe, and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce anything of use.”² Mir Qasim tried to give relief to his subjects by abolishing the duties altogether, but this was not permitted by the Company.³ Under these conditions trade was impossible. The private trade of the Company’s servants was permitted to continue until 1773. A decade and a half of such conditions disorganized the market in Bengal and made recovery difficult. The Muslim traders were ruined along with their Hindu compatriots ; the only difference was that when, much later, the process of recovery started, they were beset with other difficulties into which the attitude of the British had plunged them.

It may be mentioned that the people of Bengal were so crippled that they never again have been able to recapture the trade of their province. It is a most significant fact that the trading communities of the subcontinent come mostly from areas which escaped the early days of direct administration by the British. “I found”, deposed Sir John Malcolm in 1832, “to my surprise, that in correspondence with the first commercial and monied men of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Hindustan (Northern India), as well as with those of Gujrat, dealings in money to a large amount had continuously taken place at Ujjain and other cities . . . and I do not believe that in that country the introduction of our rule could have contributed more, nor indeed so much, to the prosperity of the commercial and agricultural interests as the establishment of the efficient rule of

¹ Letter, dated May 26, 1762.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

its former princes and chiefs.”¹ The areas mentioned in this extract are the places where the trading communities of today in the subcontinent come from ; all of these places were under native rule or had been only recently annexed. The Marwaris, who now play such an important part in the trade of Bengal, and, for that matter, in the commerce of India, are from the Rajput State of Marwar ; similarly the Khojahs, the Memons and the Gujratis were able to lie low in the native States of Gujrat and Kathiawar as well as in Malwa. Sind was one of the last areas to be annexed, and, therefore, the Sindhis also were able to maintain their hold upon commerce. These communities began to prosper when British methods of administration improved.

Besides, because Bengal had a large maritime trade with other Muslim countries, Muslim traders had a large share in the trade of that province. With the destruction of both the internal and external trade the Muslim traders of Bengal were completely ruined.

The British also played havoc with the rights of the old zamindar families. These were mostly Hindu, being successors of ancient feudal rulers, who had been subjugated and left in possession of their lands by the Muslim conquerors. The Muslim rulers laid down such regulations as were conducive to the prosperity of the cultivator. The Government exercised strict supervision, during the days of its efficiency, over the dues levied by these chiefs from the peasants so that no one should levy more than the prescribed proportion of the yield. The tradition grew so strong that even after the collapse of authority, the old zamindar families maintained an attitude of benevolence towards the peasants. There were a few Muslim zamindar families as well, mostly descendants of Hindu chiefs, who, at some stage of the family history,

¹ Minutes.. of Evidence taken before the Select Committee, 1832, VI, pp. 30-31.

had accepted Islam. The British attitude towards the zamindars in the beginning was in accordance with the pattern of their attitude towards other Indian interests. Here the matter was further complicated by the fact that the British were ignorant of the indigenous system of land holdings. When the Company took over Burdwan and Midnapore from Mir Qasim, "they disregarded the customary rights of the zamindars, and sold their estates by public auction to increase the revenue". "The lands were let by public auction for the short term of three years. Men without fortune or character became bidders at the sale ; and while some of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquish their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, those who had nothing to lose advanced yet further, wishing at all events an immediate possession. Thus numberless harpies were let loose to plunder, whom the spoil of a miserable people enabled to complete their first year's payment."¹ This system was extended all over Bengal by Warren Hastings. The result was that "descendants of old houses found their estates pass into the hands of money-lenders and speculators from Calcutta."² Ultimately in 1793, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was introduced by Lord Cornwallis. At that time it was a harsh settlement because in spite of the deterioration in the economic conditions, the Company fixed the State demand at a very high level, more than thrice the collection made under Mir Ja'far.³ The level of the demand was nine-tenths of the gross receipts of the zamindars.⁴ A number

¹ Verelst, Harry, *View of the Rise of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 70.

² Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³ The collections were as follows:

1762-63— Rs. 6,456,198 (Mir Qasim)

1763-64— Rs. 7,618,407 (Mir Ja'far)

1764-65— Rs. 8,175,533.

1790-91— Rs. 26,800,989.

Shore, *Fifth Report*, paragraph 68. Also *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, paragraph 355.

of zamindars had already been ruined and were not in a position to benefit from the comparative lenience of the new measure ; some were not able to pay the new high demand and had to sell their estates. The new class of zamindars which grew up included a large number of the families of the speculators and money-lenders of Calcutta, among whom there could hardly be a Muslim, because of the Islamic aversion to usury. Thus the small number of Muslim zamindars as a class were replaced by Hindus. So far as the Hindu zamindars were concerned, they were replaced by another set of Hindus, who thrived when the rising prices made the State demand modest in comparison to the income.

It should be remembered that under Muslim rulers there were large areas where there were no zamindars and the State had collected the revenue directly from the peasants. It had a number of collectors for this purpose, who in the lower rungs were almost exclusively Hindus. In their search for vesting people with the rights of zamindari, the British selected many of them for this purpose. Thus the Muslims were squeezed out from the new set up in the revenue administration of Bengal.¹ The higher posts in the revenue administration were reserved for Britishers. One or two families of Muslim zamindars, like the Rajas of Nagar, fell upon evil days because of the lack of other means of employment and the need of providing for the ever growing number of dependent sons and daughters.²

In Northern India, the idea of a permanent settlement was rejected after a good deal of discussion, and in 1822 it was laid down that the zamindars would pay 83 per cent of the rental as the State demand.³ This arrangement

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 152-4.

³ *Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council*, dated August 1, 1822. Dutt, I, p. 194.

was found so harsh that it broke down. It was replaced by the Settlement of 1833, according to which the State demanded two-thirds of the rental ; there was a further revision in 1855 which reduced the demand to a half of the rental.¹ It was the comparative leniency of these measures which enabled the Muslims to retain their share in the proprietorship of land. Their turn came with the wholesale confiscations after the 'Mutiny'. Of course the harsh inquiry into the revenue-free grants' had also hit them badly. In the South, the preservation of the Nizam's dominions saved the Muslims from the difficulties which they faced in the directly administered areas. In Arcot before the formal annexation, the real control had passed into the hands of the British. The story of the Nawab's British creditors and the results of the large-scale assignment of revenues to them are too well known to be repeated here in detail. These creditors, some of them with fraudulent claims, charged huge rates of interest on the money they had or claimed to have advanced to the Nawab so that he might meet the demands of the East India Company. They had the revenues of large areas of the Nawab's dominions assigned to them, so that they were virtually the rulers. They were in the same position as the servants of the East India Company in Bengal and used their power with the same disregard for the condition of the people. The creditors were the servants of the Company and had found an easier alternative to the private trade of Bengal. "The fields and villages of Southern India were converted into a vast farm, and the tillers tilled and the labourers toiled in order that all the value of the produce might be annually exported to Europe."² In this economy there was left no place for the Muslims who in South

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, I, 194.

² *Ibid.*, p 99.

India were mostly merchants and traders and in a few instances landholders. The *haveli* lands of the Northern Circars being areas where there had been no intermediaries, were parcelled out and sold as zamindaris to the highest bidders.¹ These mostly fell into the hands of money-lenders who had a supply of ready cash. The Muslim revenue officers were displaced.

The cultivators of the soil were in many places Muslims. This was truer of Bengal, where the majority of the population was Muslim. The condition of the cultivator greatly deteriorated under the British. In the beginning, the cupidity of the servants of the East India Company and their agents had a most unfortunate effect upon the condition of the peasant, because their methods of trade made it difficult for the peasant to add to his income by engaging in industry, a good deal of which was on a cottage basis and provided the peasant with occupation when there was little to do in the fields. In the words of an English writer, "the Ryots, who are generally both landholders and manufacturers, by the oppressions of Gomashtahs in harassing them for goods are frequently rendered incapable of improving their lands, and of paying their rents ; for which, on the other hand, they are again chastised by the officers of the revenue, and not infrequently have by those harpies been necessitated to sell their children in order to pay their rents, or otherwise obliged to fly the country."² The author of the contemporary *Siyar*, who cannot be accused of any anti-British bias, is constrained to remark that "the people under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress". He adds the following invocation after this remark: "O God! Come to the assistance of Thy afflicted servants, and deliver

¹ Shore, *Fifth Report*, 1812, pp. 93, 98, 113.

² Bolts, William, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 19.

them from their afflictions.”¹ The method of selling zamindaris annually and later for longer periods to the highest bidders had a pernicious effect upon the welfare of the peasant, as also the earlier high assessments. It is the same story wherever we turn. In Arcot the assignment of the revenue to the Nawab’s creditors achieved the same result of ruining the peasantry ; Bengal, the North Western Provinces, Banaras, the South, all suffered from the desire of the early British administrators to squeeze the utmost from the peasantry through the zamindars or directly by high assessments. “I am personally acquainted with instances where the revenue assessed upon certain lands”, stated Robert Richards, a witness before a Committee of the House of Commons, “has actually exceeded the gross produce.”² Bishop Heber says in his memoirs that “no Native prince demands the rent that we do. . . . I met with very few men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are overtaxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment.”³ John Briggs recorded “that flourishing conditions of the country under the Mugul Emperors is recorded by all European travellers who have visited the East within the last three centuries ; and the wealth, the population, and the national prosperity of India, far surpassing what they had seen in Europe, filled them with astonishment. That the condition of the people and the country under our government presents no such spectacle, is every day proclaimed by ourselves”.⁴ Oudh may be cited as an example. Its prosperity had struck the earlier British visitors ; but when it came under British rule, it was ruined. Under Colonel Hanny, “rents were increased ;

¹ Taba Tabai, Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*, II, 101.

² Evidence before the Commons Committee, 1832; Answer to Question 2829.

³ Bishop Heber, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, II, 413.

⁴ Briggs. John, *The Present Land Tax in India*, p. 393.

collections were made with every circumstance of cruelty and coercion ; the people fled from their fields and villages ; the country became desolate".¹ Defaulters were confined in open cages ; fathers were compelled to sell their children ; troops were employed to prevent the flight of the peasants."² The British had still to learn that only a moderate assessment can guarantee continuous cultivation of the soil by the cultivators.

Craftsmen were, in many areas, almost exclusively Muslims. There were only a few trades in which the number of Muslims was small, like tanning, shoe-making and certain other crafts which the Muslims did not adopt, because either the returns were not good or the work was uncongenial. All finer qualities of textiles, like Dacca muslin and Kashmir shawls, were woven by Muslim master craftsmen. The manufacture of carpets was a Muslim monopoly. The manufacture of higher qualities of jewellery, inlay work in silver and gold, making gold and silver brocades and a hundred other branches of highly artistic production were in the hands of the Muslims. The demand for these articles diminished as the result of the general decline in the economic well-being of the people and the decline of the ruling dynasties. The annexation of each State meant the loss of patronage to a large number of craftsmen. It has been already mentioned how the policies of the East India Company ruined the trade of Bengal. Industry was ruined in its wake. The Muslim Court and the native aristocracy consisting of the zamindars, the officials and the merchants who were the main consumers were ruined ; exports declined leaving behind an impoverished class of craftsmen.

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

² Facts deposed in Impeachment of Warren Hastings, see Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

The weaving trade was also all but completely destroyed by the methods employed by the servants of the East India Company and their agents. "Upon the Gomashtah's arrival at the Aurang, or manufacturing town", says a contemporary Britisher, "he fixes upon a habitation which he calls his Catcherry ; to which, by his peons and hircarabs ; . . . he summons the weavers, whom . . . he makes to sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods at a certain time and price and pays them a certain part of the money in advance. The assent of the poor weaver is in general not deemed necessary . . . upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known they have had it tied in their girdles, and they have been sent away with a flogging. . . . A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the Company's Gomash-tahs, and not permitted to work for any other, being transferred from one to another as so many slaves. . . . The roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination ; but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver ; for the prices ; . . . are in all places at least 15 per cent and some over 40 per cent less than the goods so manufactured would sell in the public bazaar or market upon free sale. . . . Weavers, also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the Company's agents . . . have had their goods seized and sold on the spot to make good the deficiency ; and the winders of raw silk, called Nagodas, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk."¹

The industries did not decline only because of the harsh treatment of the craftsmen. As early as 1769, the directors of the East India Company laid down the policy

¹ Bolts, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-4.

of encouraging the production of raw silk and discouraging the manufacture of silk fabrics.¹ They directed that silk-winders should be made to work in the Company's factories, and prohibited from working outside under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government.² The British Government was determined to encourage British manufactures at the cost of Indian industry. This was achieved by laying prohibitive duties upon the commodities imported from India or prohibiting their use altogether. For instance the duty on calicoes to be sold in Great Britain was nearly seventy-nine per cent; on muslins thirty-two per cent, coloured cotton goods were on the prohibited list ; so were certain other articles.³ The process was completed by the Industrial Revolution. It would, however, be incorrect to think that the adoption of the new methods of manufacture in England would have ruined the Indian industry so quickly without the exercise of political power in favour of the British industries. "The mills of Paisley and Manchester", says a British historian, "would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. . . . British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreigner employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."⁴

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

² General Letter, dated March 17, 1769.

³ Minutes of Evidence, etc. on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1813, pp. 463, 467.

⁴ Mill, J., *The History of British India*, Wilson's continuation, Book I, Chapter VIII, note.

The British system of "investments" was of such a nature that it would have ruined the economy of the subcontinent, even if nothing else had happened to cripple it. These "investments" were a method of depriving India of any return upon the industry of her inhabitants. Under this system, the surplus revenues of the subcontinent were spent on the purchase of such commodities as the East India Company wanted to export.¹ Rigorous economy was practised to make savings, so that little was spent upon the welfare of the people ; what was saved was spent upon these purchases, the cost of these goods was "invested" by the Company in Britain, hence the term. In the course of nineteen years, from 1793-94 to 1811-12, a sum of 25,134,672 British pounds was invested in this way ; no country which has to export its merchandise without any return and simultaneously spends large sums of money on a foreign personnel of civil and military servants and then pays them pensions upon retirement, and is occasionally deprived of wealth on other pretexts, like the change of dependent rulers or other contributions, can maintain an economic equilibrium indefinitely".²

The system of "investments" came to an end with the abolition of the East India Company's trade in 1834. The financial drain, however, continued. The Company's debts were made chargeable upon the revenues of India ; the Company was also to receive an annual dividend at the rate of ten pounds and ten shillings on their capital out of public revenue. When the Government was taken over by the Crown, their stock was paid off by loans which were made an Indian Debt.³ "For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and sometimes four million pound sterling a year from India," wrote a British author in 1838, "which has been remitted to Great Britain

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

² Minutes of Evidence, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

³ Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 397, 399.

to meet the deficiencies of commercial speculations, and to invest on England's soil the accumulated wealth of those whose lives have been spent in Hindustan. I do not think it possible for human ingenuity to avert entirely the evil effects of a continued drain of three or four million pounds a year from a distant country like India, and which is never returned to it in any shape."¹ The people were reduced to abject poverty ; the Muslims were even more adversely affected, because they had formed the higher level of society. The plight of an average wealthy Muslim family has been well depicted by Hunter where he describes the decay of the chiefs of Nagar in Bengal.

It was not just an accident that Muslim principalities were sought to be wiped off by the British. Reference has already been made to the anti-Muslim feelings of the British administrators which coloured their policies right up to the end of the nineteenth century. This can be demonstrated in a number of ways, but perhaps the most significant fact is that after the policy of annexations had virtually come to an end, traces of Muslim rule were fewer in the shape of Muslim dynasties, though the Muslims had ruled the subcontinent for several centuries. Of course one of the reasons was that sometimes the prosperity of the areas under Muslim rule excited the cupidity of the British. Oudh is an excellent example. All authorities are agreed that previous to the foisting of a subsidiary force upon the ruler the country was prosperous. Tipu had ruled his territories well and in spite of the wars forced upon him his territories were in a flourishing condition. Arcot was naturally rich, and though Muhammad 'Ali was an inefficient ruler his difficulties were augmented by the demands of the East India Company ; the assignment of large areas to

¹ Martin, Montgomery, *Eastern India*, Introduction.

his creditors, which he was persuaded to believe, would gain him influence with the British authorities at home, plunged his dominions into chaos ; yet he had been a loyal ally of the British, but Arcot was not spared. Tipu Sultan was, of course, an enemy and was to be destroyed at any cost. The conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Daulah was worthwhile because Bengal was such a rich prize. The subsequent history of Bengal shows how the loyalty or pliancy of the rulers did not save them. The succession of each ruler enriched not only the Company but also its servants. When Mir Ja'far was made the Nawab after the Battle of Plassey, the servants of the East India Company received more than a million pounds; when he was replaced by Mir Qasim, the new Nawab paid more than two hundred thousand pounds ; when Mir Ja'far was restored, he paid more than five hundred thousand pounds ; Najm-ud-Daulah paid another two hundred thousand. Within eight years more than two million pounds were paid in presents by these rulers. Nearly four million pounds were further taken as restitution ; thus within this short period about six million pounds had been paid, still Bengal was not spared final annexation.¹ The story of the exactions from Oudh has been related elsewhere ; it follows the same pattern. In Oudh, similar exactions were levied from the Begams; the harshness of the steps taken against these ladies and the amount of the exactions stirred the conscience of the thinking Britishers even then ; all European traditions of courtesy to ladies of rank were forgotten in dealing with these ladies of royal lineage. All these sums exacted from Muslim families gradually drained off wealth from Muslim hands. The process reached its climax after the 'Mutiny', when large-scale confiscations reduced the Muslims to penury.

¹ House of Commons Committee's Third Report, 1773, p. 311.

The gravest injury inflicted upon the Muslims was to cripple their educational system. The introduction of English as the official language reduced the economic value of Persian and a large number of persons, who were well educated but ignorant of English, were reduced to the level of semi-literates by just one measure. This served the double purpose of making the English language popular and of striking at the root of Muslim influence. The benefits of the people being brought into touch with Western thought cannot be denied ; yet it is doubtful whether the consequent stunting of the local languages and the cramping influence upon thought in general and education in particular, where students have for generations sought knowledge through a language which the majority of them even today understand only imperfectly, has not been too great a price for this acquaintance with modern knowledge, and whether it could not be achieved in other ways. The people of the subcontinent are by no means as advanced as, for instance, the Japanese, who never felt called upon to leave all their academic and cultural traditions.

The replacement of Persian by English, however, was the least of the grievances of the Muslims. If they had wanted to resign themselves the poverty and the loss of important avenues of employment, it was they who would have suffered. If the British had been solicitous of their welfare and keen upon gaining their confidence, they could have used persuasion successfully. The crushing defeat and the heavy reprisals of the ' Mutiny ' were not needed to make Western knowledge popular among the Muslims. There were groups of Muslims who had already become aware of the handicaps of pursuing a policy of non-co-operation ; but the British had little desire to help the Muslims. Their interest in the Muslims started when they felt that " the mild Hindu " also might develop thoughts other than continuously

basking in the cloudy sunshine of British favour. Economic factors would have asserted themselves in any case, and the Muslims would have been drawn to the new education, whether they liked it or not ; but for them the economic urge also was missing because there was discrimination against them in Government employment. All the forces of British prejudice and Hindu nepotism were arrayed against them.

This was not all. More positive measures were taken to destroy their educational system. With the rapid deterioration in the economic position of the Muslims and the loss of territories, it was increasingly difficult for them to maintain their educational institutions. The establishment of new ones was well nigh impossible. The provision of educational facilities is looked upon by the Muslims as an act of piety. The pursuit and the imparting of knowledge are alike acts of worship. In those days men of substance and even high officials and noblemen devoted a little time to teaching a few pupils. This was considered by them to be a religious duty and a form of devotion. It was unusual for a man of substance not to make an endowment for educational purposes. Successive Governments had also spent large sums of money to maintain some men of learning, so that they might devote themselves to scholarship and teaching without having to worry about means of livelihood. The State assigned land to schools and colleges ; men engaged in teaching also were given such assignments of land. It was not the custom to have teachers in the employment of the Government, because it was considered necessary that they should have academic freedom, and Government employment might interfere with their independence. In certain families the tradition of scholarship and teaching was maintained from one generation to another. The grants of land were not looked upon as salaries ; to

accept wages for an act of worship would have shocked these medieval teachers. They devoted themselves to teaching because it was their duty to do so ; the State gave them grants because it was a virtuous deed to make these people independent of mundane worries. Wealthy Muslims made endowments in the same spirit. When the East India Company instituted a severe inquiry into the titles of all rent-free grants and resumed a large proportion of them it struck a heavy blow at the educational organization of the Muslims, from which they have yet not been able to recover. The percentage of literacy was reduced drastically among the Muslims under British rule.¹ Every mosque had a school attached to it ; with the resumption of old grants, this became impossible. The result was the growth of illiteracy, which turned an educated community into one of the most illiterate in the world.

As if this was not enough, Muslim endowments were, in certain cases, taken over by the Government and their funds diverted to purposes which were not in accordance with the desires of the donors. "Above all", says Hunter, "they charge us with deliberate malversation of their religious foundations and with misappropriation on the largest scale of their education funds."² He then confirms that the complaint was based upon facts. We do not know the full extent of this misappropriation ; the resumption of rent-free lands alone deprived the Muslims in North India of large resources. For eighteen long years, from 1828 to 1846, did this inquisition last, leaving Muslim education prostrate and ruined. This was not the destruction of a system of superstition and pseudo-knowledge;

¹ Adam, William, *The Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*, 1835-38, estimates the number of schools in Bengal alone at 1,00,000. In 1899-1900, the total number of educational institutions of all types and grades in entire British India was 150,569. Also read Leitiner, *History of Indigenous Education in Panjab* 1882, which compares the figures of literacy with earlier periods.

² Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

it was at the time of its destruction "capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish."¹ It was in need of reform ; there was much scope for bringing it up to date and incorporating into it the progress made by Western knowledge ; but it did not deserve destruction. The British made no amends for its loss. The sums of money spent upon the new system were not a fraction of the income accruing from the resumption of the rent-free lands and the diversion of Muslim funds. Besides none of the new institutions were for the benefit of the Muslims alone. It has already been mentioned how the discrimination used against the Muslims did not make it attractive for them to go to such schools as did come into existence.

Another cause of the Muslims abstaining from the Government schools was the fact that not only were they manned almost entirely by the Hindus who had little regard for Muslim culture and susceptibilities but they also taught in the elementary classes exclusively the Hindu language and culture. The Muslims of Bengal in particular objected to their children remaining ignorant of Persian and having to learn a Hinduised local dialect.² Muslim learning of every variety and at all levels was in disfavour. Western orientalists had discovered Sanskrit and the treasures that it contained ; in this language the West was able to discover some of its Aryan past and naturally turned with enthusiasm to it. In the speculative thought of the Hindu philosophers the Westerners found avenues of thought which had all the attraction of novelty combined with real depth. Hindu learning and philosophy became fashionable. Thinkers like Spinoza were deeply affected by it. The enthusiastic commendation of Hindu learning

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 175, quoting E. C. Bayley.

² Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

had its political and intellectual consequence, which were by no means undesirable from the British point of view. It gave the Hindus a legitimate pride in the achievements of their ancestors ; it turned their mind to that period of their history which had preceded the intrusion of the Muslims into their lives. They did not think of their past as it existed in the comparatively barren period just before the Muslim conquest, under the Gurjara-Pratiharas and their contemporaries, but of the remote glory of their really creative period ; in consequence, almost imperceptibly, they were drawn away from the composite culture which the Muslim occupation had endeavoured to build up, and gradually, but surely and irrevocably, they turned away from the Islamic traits in their way of life and thinking. Of course this left Muslims without any sympathy in any quarter. They did not have compassion in their distress either from their rulers or from those who had been their compatriots for so long. All this time the British were averse from encouraging anything Islamic. During the years 1847-1852, the East India Company spent six hundred British pounds in grants to the publication of *Bibliotheca Indica* series ; this money was spent almost exclusively upon non-Muslim texts.¹

Towards the end of the nineteenth century we find in the Muslims a community which had sunk into "the lowest depths of broken pride, black despair and general penury."² Contemporary literature, particularly poetry, gives the fullest expression to this feeling of unrelieved gloom. "The Faith", laments the well-known Urdu poet, Hali, "which had blazed a trail of glory in its march from its birthplace finds itself destitute

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

² Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, p. 43.

and helpless in a strange land.”¹ British writers make it out that the condition of the Muslims was the result of their own perversity in not heeding the signs of the time. This statement has only an element of truth in it ; because of this element of truth, it has been universally accepted ; nothing gains so much currency as a half truth. It would take much more than mere cussedness and perversity on the part of a community placed as the Muslims were to be reduced to the condition in which the Muslims of the subcontinent found themselves after a century of British rule. They had been rulers of the land for several centuries and were prosperous and wealthy when the British rule started. In education, culture, political consciousness and trade and industry they were more advanced than any other community in the subcontinent. Towards the end of the nineteenth century they had been reduced to the extremes of degradation and misery. Even if the contention of the British writers is accepted, the question still remains whether it was not the duty of the new rulers to adopt some measures to gain the confidence of the Muslims and to persuade them to take to the ways of progress and well-being. If the lack of any such effort is ascribed to such ideas being too advanced for the period, some explanation is to be found for the policies of discrimination and exploitation which were adopted towards the Muslims. These policies were more responsible than the attitude of the Muslims for their rapid

¹ In the famous ode beginning:

اے خاصہ خاصانِ رسل وقت دعا ہے
امت پہ تری آکے عجب وقت پڑا ہے

The quotation is a free translation of the following:

جو دین کہ نکلا تھا بڑی شان سے گھر سے
ہر دین میں وہ آج غریب الغریبا ہے

decline as a community under the British. No community which in its subjection is made the target of ill-will by the ruling authority and is continuously maltreated can keep its head above water for long. Even if the British did not adopt these policies purposely to crush the Muslims and were directed only by their dislike of the Muslims and the fear of their political consciousness, the effects upon the Muslims were the same. The establishment of the British rule crushed them and inflicted such grave injuries upon them that even after freedom they will take long to recover from them. Illiteracy, poverty, the loss of skills and cultural stagnation cannot be wiped off easily or within a short time. The body of Islam in India and Pakistan must bear these scars for many a year to come.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SUCCESSORS OF SAYYID AHMAD SHAHID: TRIALS AND PERSECUTION

AFTER the conquest of the Panjab by Britain, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this book, the successors of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid came directly into conflict with the British resulting in several wars on the Frontier, by far the most important of which was the Ambela campaign.¹ These wars caused serious anxiety to the British. It realized at an early stage that stable peace would not return to the Frontier unless the movement for *jihad*, so widespread in India, was thoroughly suppressed and its organization completely destroyed. Ruthless measures were adopted to achieve these objectives. They took the shape of trials and persecution lasting for nearly a quarter of a century. Numerous workers in the cause were convicted and transported for life. Some of them did not survive the ordeals of the trial itself and a few others died in the far off Andamans while still serving the terms of their sentences. Their properties were confiscated and their houses razed to the ground. Even the members of their families and their dependents were made to suffer great hardships. Yet such was the resolve of these men, particularly of the chief organizers, that they neither wavered nor faltered in the prosecution of their mission.

Even before it was thought opportune to institute regular trials, persecution had started. During the War of Independence itself the leading lights of the movement at Patna were arrested and detained for nearly three

¹ See Chapter VII.

months. W. Tayler, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, was particularly suspicious of Shah Mohammad Husain, Maulawi Ahmadullah and Maulawi Wa'izul Haqq. To quote his own words: "From private information obtained from many sources I had reason to believe that the saintly gentlemen were busying themselves to a very unusual extent, and what rendered their conduct peculiarly suspicious, was that an intimacy appeared to have suddenly sprung up between them and one Lootf Ali Khan, the rich banker of the city, who being a Sheah, was an unnatural subject for such connexion and who was generally believed to be secretly engaged in traitorous designs."¹

Tayler decided on their arrest. "I felt sure," says he, "that, with their necks at my disposal, and their persons under the drawn sabres of the Seikhs, not one genuine Wahabee in the district, dare stir a finger."²

He formed a plan for their arrest which did not bring credit to him as an individual or to the high office he held. Since the three persons selected for arrest, particularly Shah Muhammad Husain and Maulawi Ahmadullah, were men of unusual influence. Tayler thought it impolitic to arrest them from their homes in the town where they might even offer resistance. He, therefore, issued a circular to "all the respectable natives" of Patna inviting them to his house for "consultation on the state of affairs". When they all assembled, among them the three above-mentioned leaders, Tayler talked to them about the current unrest and then retired. The assembly was then asked to disperse but the three persons were requested to remain. Tayler returned to the room, told them that he had received information of their complicity in the "evil designs" and had, therefore, decided, as a precautionary measure, "to keep them . . . in

¹ Tayler, W.: *The Patna Crisis* (London, 1858), p. 47.

Ibid.

safe keeping". They reacted, in the words of Tayler "with wonderful presence of mind and a politeness of manner worthy of all admiration."¹

This shameful episode did not end here. To complete it, Tayler told Maulawi Ahmadullah before final parting: "Remember, I have not arrested your father; but his life is in your hands, yours in his."² The sinister implications of the warning were obvious. For three months, these principal figures among Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's successors were kept in detention and were not freed until Tayler himself was removed from his post.

Later started a series of trials and detentions under emergency legislation. The trials were many and detentions numerous. As a matter of fact each war on the Frontier produced its corresponding State trial. In this chapter it is intended to deal with three of these trials in some detail and only to refer briefly to two others. The three trials selected for more detailed treatment are: the Ambala Trial of 1864, the First Patna Trial of 1865 and the Second Patna Trial of 1871. A passing reference will be made to the Trials of Malda and Rajmahal of 1870.

From 1864 onward the Government had an elaborate establishment to deal with the movement. Writing in 1871, Hunter says; "the cost of watching the *Wahabis*, and keeping them within bounds, amounts in a single province to as much as would suffice for administration, judicial and criminal, of a British district containing one-third of the whole population of Scotland."³

Due to the enthusiasm and organizational ability of Maulawi Wilayat 'Ali and Maulawi 'Inayat 'Ali, both lieutenants of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Patna had become what Delhi was in the lifetime of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 50.,

² Tayler, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ Hunter, W. W.: *The Indian Muslims* (Calcutta, 1945), p. 92.

headquarters of the movement. After the two brothers, the leadership of the organization centered in other members of this illustrious family of Sadiqpur (Patna). The principal aim of the organization was the inculcation of the spirit of *jihad* among the Muslims and the supply of man and money to the *mujahidin* across the border at Malka and Sitana.

Since the Ambela campaign of 1863 had proved to be particularly costly to the Government of India, it decided upon dealing severely with those who had been instrumental in preaching *jihad* and supplying men and money to the settlements beyond the Frontier. Thus it may be said that Ambela led to Ambala. In other words the Ambela campaign resulted in the adoption of policy of repression and the Trial at Ambala in 1864.

Let us reconstruct the story of this Trial with the help of Government records and the writings of two of the accused, namely Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far of Thanesar and Maulawi 'Abdul Rahim of Patna who have left rather remarkable accounts of the Trial.¹

The history of the case may be narrated briefly. After the death of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid in 1831, the leadership of the movement passed, as has already been stated, into the hands of the so-called "Patna maulawis", Maulawi Wilayat 'Ali and his brother, Maulawi 'Inayat 'Ali of Sadiqpur. Already in 1847, after they had attempted to create a disturbance among the border tribes and in the Kaghan Valley they were considered "dangerous characters". They were forced to return to Patna when the Magistrate demanded from them the security of good conduct which was furnished by Hashmat Dad Khan and Dilawar 'Ali Khan, two wealthy adherents of the movement in Patna. They were required not to leave Patna. Yet a couple of years later Maulawi 'Inayat 'Ali was caught preaching *jihad* in Rajshahi and

¹ *Kala Pant* and *al-Durar al-Manthur fi Tarajim i ahl i Sadiqpur*, respectively.

was expelled from the district. A second security was furnished in 1850 and yet again the two brothers reached the Frontier in 1851.

In 1852 anti-British correspondence was seized by the Panjab authorities which disclosed an attempt on the part of the *mujahidin* to tamper with the loyalty of the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry at Rawalpindi. This conspiracy was found to have originated in Patna and many of the members of the Sadiqpur family were suspected of being involved in it. Letters were captured showing men, money and arms passing from Patna through Meerut and Rawalpindi to the Frontier. Such, however, was deemed to be the influence of Maulawi Ahmadullah, now the head of the Sadiqpur family, that the local authorities thought it unwise to search his house or to take any other action against him, though Muhammad Wali, the Regimental *Munshi* of the 4th Native Infantry along with a few others was tried and convicted at Rawalpindi (1853).

It was only after the Ambala campaign that the Government of India decided to take strong action against the leaders of the movement at Sadiqpur and those who collaborated with them. It was alleged that during the time the Frontier war was in progress, a constant correspondence had been kept up with Patna; letters had been sent through special messengers to Ambala and thence forwarded to the Frontier by the chief agent, Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far, a disciple of Maulawi Wilayat 'Ali, aided and assisted by Muhammad Shafi', an army contractor.

In May 1863, shortly before the Ambala campaign, four Bengalis were arrested by Ghazzan Khan, a Sergeant of the Mounted Police, in Karnal District. They were on their way to Ambala. Ghazzan Khan, himself a resident of the Yusufzai country, had some idea of the *mujahidin* at Sitana and he noticed a certain similarity

of appearance and views between those who had been taken prisoners by the British troops at Sitana and these four persons. Believing them to be emissaries, he arrested them and produced them before the District Magistrate. However, the Magistrate did not take the matter seriously and released them. In a couple of months trouble broke out on the Frontier.

Ghazzan Khan who had felt slighted by the attitude of the Magistrate followed the matter up. He sent his son to Malka and through him ascertained that the *mujahidin* beyond the Frontier were assisted with men and arms from Patna through Muhammad Ja'far of Thanesar. This information was passed on to the District Superintendent of Police, Ambala, Captain Q. D. Parsons. A thorough enquiry followed. Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far's house was searched. As Maulawi Ja'far himself has pointed out, he made an unsuccessful effort to get a letter destroyed which he had written shortly before the search and Parsons succeeded in obtaining certain important clues from this letter and other correspondence found in the house.¹ A Bengali youth and a servant of Muhammad Shafi', meat contractor for the troops at Ambala, happened to be present in the house. The letters and the presence of his servant in the house of Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far implicated Muhammad Shafi' whose house was also subjected to a search. The correspondence discovered there brought further proof of both Muhammad Shafi' and Muhammad Ja'far's association with the movement. Since, in the meantime, Muhammad Ja'far, anticipating his arrest, had disappeared, he was traced and caught in Aligarh along with Husaini of Patna and another person named Mo'azzam Sardar. Some more correspondence was intercepted and Government decided to prosecute the

¹ *Kala Pani*.

following eleven persons, the first six coming from Patna, the next four from Ambala and its neighbourhood and the last named from Rajshahi:

1. Maulawi Yahya 'Ali of Sadiqpur, a very important member of the Sadiqpur family and most active, at this stage, as an organizer of the movement. At the time of trial his age was 42;

2. Maulawi 'Abdur Rahim, another member of the same family (whose book *al-Durar al-Manthur* has been mentioned on page 369 above). He was 28;

3. Mian 'Abdul Ghaffar, a servant of Maulawi Yahya 'Ali, aged 25. Earlier he had served Maulawi Wilayat 'Ali;

4. Ilahi Bakhsh, the *mukhtar* of Maulawi Ahmadullah of Sadiqpur;

5. Husaini, son of Meghu, of Patna. He was a servant of Ilahi Bakhsh and was aged 35;

6. 'Abdul Ghafoor, son of Shah 'Ali Khan, of Shahabad or, according to another version of Hazaribagh, a servant of Ilahi Bakhsh. He was 25 years old. At the time of arrest he was staying with Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far of Thanesar;

7. Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far of Thanesar, aged 28, author of the first biography of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid in Urdu and an active member of the movement;

8. Muhammad Shafi' of Ambala, an army contractor who supplied meat to the troops. His head office was at Rawalpindi but he had his agents in a number of cantonments in northern India.

9. 'Abdul Karim of Ambala, aged 35, the *mukhtar* and a relation of Muhammad Shafi';

10. Husaini son of Muhammad Bakhsh of Thanesar, an assistant of Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far. He was 25 years old; and

11. Qazi Mian Jan of Commercially, Pabna, Bengal.

At the time of arrest he was 60 years old. He died in the Ambala Jail. According to the judge it was from his house that the major portion of objectionable correspondence was obtained.

Of these eleven persons who were tried at Ambala, the two most important were Maulawi Yahya 'Ali of Sadiqpur and Maulawi Mohammad Ja'far of Thanesar. The former was one of the two chief organizers of the movement at this time (the other being his elder brother, Maulawi Ahmadullah who was tried a year later at Patna, but who, for certain reasons, was not brought to trial in 1864). Maulawi Muhammad Ja'far of Thanesar was the chief representative of the movement at Ambala and was largely responsible for arranging the onward transmission of men and money to the *mujahidin*.

The accused were tried for attempting to wage war and abetting the waging of war against the Queen under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code. The trial was held by Mr. (later Sir) Herbert Edwards, the Commissioner of Ambala, as Sessions Judge, with the aid of six assessors, three of whom were Hindus and three Muslims. After a fairly long trial, the Commissioner found all the eleven accused guilty and sentenced three of them, Maulawi Yahya 'Ali, Maulawi Mohammad Ja'far and Muhammad Shafi' to death and the remaining eight to transportation for life. The property of all the eleven was also to be forfeited.

The case was finally heard in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner (A. A. Roberts) shortly afterwards. The Judicial Commissioner also found the accused guilty but somewhat mitigated their sentences. The three death sentences were commuted to transportation for life, not because the Judicial Commissioner wanted to be lenient but because transportation for life, in his own words, "to men of the views and temperaments of Yahiya Ali and Jaffar will probably be less palatable than death

on the scaffold". Forfeiture of property was, however, confirmed. Other sentences were proportionately reduced though he considered Maulawi 'Abdul Rahim, Ilahi Bakhsh and Muhammad Shafi' as the next in the degree of culpability. Inferior to them in guilt, according to him, were 'Abdul Ghaffar and 'Abdul Ghafoor and still lower in the scale, 'Abdul Karim and Husaini of Patna and the least culpable of all Husaini of Thanesar.

The trial brought to light the amazing network which the Sadiqpur family had been able to spread throughout the subcontinent. A regular system of collecting taxes, and preaching *jihad* was established right from Eastern Bengal to the North-Western Frontier. Although so widespread, the movement was organized with the utmost secrecy. All the active members of the movement functioned under fictitious names,¹ and corresponded in code. There was a remarkable sentiment of camaraderie among the organizers of the movement and their enthusiasm for the cause knew no bounds.

The second important "Wahabi" trial took place in 1865. The accused was Maulawi Ahmadullah of Patna, a prominent member of the Sadiqpur family and a very influential person in the city. He was among the three persons arrested at Patna during the War of Independence of 1857 and was released only after Tayler, the District Magistrate, had been removed from the post. Tayler, however, did not leave Patna and started legal practice there. He did not forgive or forget Maulawi Ahmadullah and did his best in 1864, when the Ambala Trial was in progress, to implicate him in it along with other

¹ Some of the real names along with their fictitious equivalents were: Maulawi Yahya 'Ali=Muhi-ud-din; Maulawi Fayyaz 'Ali=Bashir-ud-din; Maulawi Abdullah=Babu Sahib; Muhammad Shafi='Shafa'at 'Ali; Maulawi 'Abdur Rahim=Rahim Beg; Maulawi 'Abdullah=Ahmad 'Ali.

Malka and Sitana, one after the other came to be called Bara Godam or big godown and Patna as Chota Godam or small godown. The recruits were mentioned as *beoparis* or merchants, etc. etc.

members of the Sadiqpur family. However, the Government decided not to touch the person of Maulawi Ahmadullah, not at least for the time being. It was only in 1865 that the efforts of his opponents bore fruit and he was arrested and tried for conspiracy and treason.¹

It all started with a despatch dated 5 October, 1864, from the Secretary to the Government of the Panjab addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the subject of the complicity of Maulawi Ahmadullah and certain other citizens of Patna in the "treasonable practices" of which Maulawi Yahya 'Ali and others were found guilty in the trial of Ambala. The despatch conveyed the considered view of the District Magistrate of Ambala that the facts upon which Maulawi Yahya 'Ali was convicted implicated with equal force his brother, Maulawi Ahmadullah. On receipt of this despatch, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal addressed a communication to the Commissioner of the Patna Division asking him to find out in consultation with the District Magistrate of Patna (T. E. Ravenshaw) whether there was sufficient evidence to support a charge under Section 123 of the Indian Penal Code and, if so, to proceed against them. The Commissioner was also required to remove Maulawi Ahmadullah from the office he held under the Government and to hold him disqualified from holding any post of responsibility under Government. The Commissioner was also asked to carry out strictly the order of the Ambala Court as regards forfeiture of property of those sentenced in the trial.

The authorities at Patna promptly took action against Maulawi Ahmadullah. T. E. Ravenshaw was appointed by the provincial authorities to conduct first before Mr.

¹ See *Papers Connected with the Trial of Moulvie Ahmadoollah of Patna and Others* (Calcutta, 1866), in the *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XLII.

Munro the officiating Magistrate and then before Mr. Ainslie, the Sessions Judge of Patna, the prosecution against him.

Maulawi Ahmadullah was charged on the following counts :

1. That he attempted to wage war against the Queen (punishable under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code).

2. That he abetted the waging of war against the Queen (punishable under the same Section).

3. That he had abetted the attempt to wage war against the Queen (punishable under the same Section).

4. That he abetted the collection of men with the intention of waging war against the Queen (punishable under Sections 109 and 122 of the Indian Penal Code).

5. That he, by illegal mission, concealed the existence of a design to wage war against the Queen, intending by such concealment to facilitate the waging of such war (punishable under Section 123 of the Indian Penal Code).

The main allegation supported by the evidence of a large number of witnesses¹ was that a conspiracy existed in Patna the object of which was to forward men and money to Sitanah and that Maulawi Ahmadullah was a chief party in this conspiracy.

Maulawi Ahmadullah was found guilty on the second, fourth and fifth counts. The judge acquitted him of the first count and considered the third merged in the second. The judge passed a sentence of death and forfeiture of property.

Interesting evidence is available from the published records of the Government of Bengal that the witnesses appearing on behalf of the prosecution, were not only paid the normal allowances but what has been termed

¹ Among the prosecution witnesses were: Usman 'Ali, Qazi Murad, Mo'azzam Sardar, Ghulam 'Abbas, Zinatullah, Lal Muhammad, Azim-ud-din, Salim-ud-din, 'Abdul Karim and Ilahi Bakhsh. See, *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XLII, p. 91.

by the Commissioner of Patna "compensation for loss of time and absence from their various employments" and three men of the Panjab Police who had been instrumental in winning over Ilahi Bakhsh, the *mukhtar* of Maulawi Ahmadullah, already convicted in the Ambala Trial, were paid "Gratuities".

The case finally came before the High Court of Calcutta for the confirmation of the sentence of death. It was thought advisable in view of the political importance of the case that the prosecution should be conducted by the Standing Counsel for Government, aided by the Government pleaders of the High Court. Ravenshaw, by now a specialist on the subject, was to proceed to Calcutta to assist in conducting the case, but as he was not enrolled as Advocate of the High Court, he could not appear before it.

The High Court came to the following conclusion: "looking. . . at the whole of the evidence. . . immediately bearing on the case of the prisoners, and at the very lame and unsatisfactory defence he has made, . . . we think that the fact of the existence of a conspiracy at Patna to assist subjects of the British Government in waging war against that Government is proved; that in furtherance of that conspiracy a *jehad* against that Government was preached, and that men and money were forwarded across the Frontier. We have evidence that some of the men thus sent joined the rank of the combatants at Sittah, and fought against the British Government. We have evidence also that money in gold mohurs and hoondies for the support of these rebels was remitted to Mohamed Jaffir at Thanesar and Mohamed Shuffee at Umbaia. We find that the prisoner was a constant attendant at the preaching in the house of Abdool Rohim at Patna proclaiming a *jehad*. We find that he was cognizant of, and consenting to, the conspiracy and to the acts done in furtherance thereof;

and though it may not be possible to point to any one act in particular to have been done by him directly in furtherance of the objects of that conspiracy yet the conspiracy being proved, and his connection with it, the acts of each of his co-conspirators . . . are his acts, and therefore to be held as evidence against him.”¹

The High Court found Maulawi Ahmadullah guilty of abetting the waging of war against the Queen and passed on him a sentence of transportation for life and forfeiture of property, in modification of the sentence of death passed by the Sessions Judge.²

Thus ended the second important “Wahabi” trial. An offshoot of the trial was the release of Ilahi Bakhsh who had proved particularly useful to the prosecution in this trial. He received Rs. 500 for his services.

Since an important feature of both the judgments of Ambala and Patna was forfeiture of property, the authorities at Patna implemented it in a ruthless fashion. Ravenshaw had suggested in his memorandum the confiscation of both movable and immovable property and the demolition of the houses of the Sadiqpur family. This was now done. As to movable property many an item was given away for a mere trifle as people refused to bid at the auction. And the whole collection of houses belonging to the illustrious family, was handed over to the Patna municipality for being demolished and for building the office of the city municipality on its ruins.³ This building is still in existence. There is also a small market outside the office building. Even the family graveyard was not spared and tombs were demolished.⁴ As to the movable property, perhaps the most deplorable aspect of the whole affair was that

¹ *Selections from the Records of Bengal Government*, No. XLII, p.102-103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ Rahim, *al-Durar al-Manthur*, p. 178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179. Maulawi ‘Abdur Rahim says he was stunned on his return from Andaman, to see the treatment meted out to the tombs of his forefathers:

along with other articles the valuable collection of books belonging to Maulawi Ahmadullah was destroyed.¹ Some of these books one still comes across in the various libraries of Patna which they have reached through dubious ways and circuitous routes.

As a result of these steps, a whole bunch of Sadiqpur families were financially ruined which apparently was Government's objective.

In 1871 took place another State Trial at Patna. This is the last of a series of trials and because of its importance came to be widely known. Seven persons were tried on this occasion—Amir Khan, Hashmdad Khan, Pir Muhammad, Maulawi Mubarak 'Ali, Maulawi Tabarak 'Ali, Haji Din Muhammad and Amin-ud-din. Actually, several of the accused had earlier been arrested separately and detained or imprisoned under the emergency laws, but it was only in 1871 that they were regularly tried for conspiracy.

Maulawi Mubarak 'Ali was arrested as early as 1868. He had been playing an active role in the movement, particularly since the trial and conviction of Maulawi

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”اس وقت اس حرکت سے جو ہمارے اموات کے ساتھ کی گئی جو صلہ دل پر گذرا وہ بیرون از حیطہ تقریر و تحریر ہے۔ اس وقت تک اس کی یاد سے بدن کے رونگٹے کھڑے ہو جاتے ہیں۔ یہ کچھ سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ ہمارے جرم میں ہمارے اموات و آبا و اجداد کی قبریں کیونکر کھودی گئیں اور وہ مقبرہ کیوں معرض ضبطی میں آیا۔ ہماری عادل گورنمنٹ نے کہوں یہ کام کیا۔“

¹ Maulawi Ahmadullah's eldest son, Hakim 'Abdul Hamid, has left a poem, *Mathnawi Shahr Ashob*, on the subject in which he gives the details of these confiscations. On the destruction of the library he says:

کتب ملت مسلمانان — رقت در دست حرف لاخوانان
داند او هر که باتمیز بود — مالی یغما گرا عزیز بود
راست گوینده ای مثل گفت است — دل بیرحم و دولت مدت است

Ahmadullah in 1865. He might be considered as the leading organizer of the movement at the time. He had worked hard in connection with the defence in the State trials held earlier. He was arrested because he was supposed to be involved in "treasonable" correspondence which had fallen into the hands of the Government.¹ Haji Din Muhammad was also arrested in 1868. Next year in 1869 Pir Muhammad was arrested. Maulawi Tabarak 'Ali who was the son of Maulawi Mubarak 'Ali was arrested in 1870. All of them were kept in the various prisons of the North-Western Provinces (present day U. P.) and the Panjab.

Amir Khan, aged 75, belonged originally to Patna but his business—he was a rich hide merchant—made it necessary for him to live in Calcutta. He was first arrested in 1864 during the Ambala trial and was released on bail. For the second time he was arrested from his house at Colootolah in Calcutta by Captain Birch, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, on July 10, 1869.² He was immediately taken to the Howrah Railway Station whence he was removed to Gaya, the same evening. For nearly a month and a half he was kept confined in Gaya on prison diet and under prison discipline, with an armed guard continually in his room. On August 25, 1869, he was taken to the 'Alipore Jail. For about a year, he was not shown any warrant or copy of a warrant; nor was he informed of the cause of his detention. The only information given to him as to the authority of his arrest was by Captain Birch who told him at the time of his arrest that it was "*Rani ka hukm*" or Her Majesty's order. Nor until some time in July 1870, did the Superintendent, 'Alipore Jail, think it fit to inform Amir Khan's

¹ This correspondence was discovered at the house of Umed 'Ali at Delhi. See 'Records of the Government of West Bengal', secured through the good offices of the Government of East Pakistan for the Board of Editors.

² For details, see *In the Matter of Amir Khan*, "Proceedings of the High Court of Calcutta", August, 1870.

solicitors that he had a warrant, but this was a warrant not of arrest but of detention and even this he refused to show to the solicitors who wanted to see it on behalf of Amir Khan. The Calcutta High Court was moved to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* to be addressed to the Superintendent of the Jail at 'Alipore, outside the limits of the local jurisdiction of the High Court, commanding him to bring before the High Court the body of Amir Khan, together with the cause of his detention.

The case was ably argued by Mr. Anstey, in which, besides advancing other arguments, he challenged the legality of Regulation III of 1818, but Mr. Justice Norman ruled that the issuing of a writ of *habeas corpus* was not called for.¹

Hashmdad Khan who had been arrested about the same time as Amir Khan under the same Regulation III of 1818 presented a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor on 11 May, 1870, in which he asked that he be released, or in the alternative, tried before a court. In reply he was informed that he could neither be released nor tried and that since he had been arrested under Regulation III of 1818, it was neither usual nor necessary in the opinion of the Government to supply him with a copy of the warrant.

At last the seven accused and detainees, some of whom had been released only to be re-arrested for trial in March 1871, were produced in the court of M. D. M. Barbour, officiating Joint Magistrate of Patna, who committed them to the sessions. The Great Wahabi Trial opened before the Sessions Court on May 1871, in a big way. A large number of witnesses were brought from different parts of northern India, Peshawar and Hazara in the West and Midnapur and Baqarganj in the East. Some delay occurred owing to the postponement of the hearing, on an application made

¹ For the judgment of Mr. Norman, see *In the Matter of Amir Khan*, pp. 67-77.

on behalf of the accused for the transfer of the trial to Calcutta and on another application for its adjournment. Finally, regular hearings were started on May 30, and continued up to July 19, 1871. As many as 159 witnesses were produced before the court—113 on behalf of the prosecution and 46 on behalf of the accused.

Among the accused by far the most important were Amir Khan by virtue of his status in society and Maulawi Mubarak 'Ali owing to the influence he exercised among the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid.

Hashmdad Khan was acquitted by the Sessions Judge in July 1871. Pir Muhammad was also released. In the opinion of the judge enough evidence did not exist to warrant their conviction. As to the other five accused they were all sentenced on 17 July, 1871, to transportation for life. Moreover their properties were to be confiscated. Amir Khan who was seventy-five at this time, appealed but in vain. The only concession given to him was that he was not to be sent to the Andamans and was kept in Indian jails. Ultimately when he was very ill, he was released on 4 November, 1877. He died a year after his release (9 November, 1878).

The immovable properties of Amir Khan were attached under the orders of Government. A good deal of movable property was sold and only a small portion of it was left to his heir, Zorawar Khan. Later his grandsons (daughters' sons), Muhammad Yahya Khan, and Muhammad Zakaria Khan, were granted educational stipends of Rs. 6 each per month, subsequently raised to Rs. 13/8/- per month for studying at Aligarh and later at Patna to be enjoyed up to the age of 21. Finally Zakaria Khan was given a life pension of Rs. 10 a month.¹ Such was the generosity shown by the

¹ For the details of their stipends and pension see the unpublished "Proceedings of the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal", No. 2075, copies of which were secured for the Board of Editors through the Government of East Pakistan.

Government to the heirs of a millionaire, whose entire property had been confiscated.

Having dealt with the three important trials, let us now briefly refer to two more—the Malda Trial and the Rajmahal Trial, both of 1870. An account of these trials is available not only in the reports of the Patna and Ambala Trials, but in the unpublished records of the Government of Bengal. From these official papers one gathers the following information.

In the first of these two trials, Maulawi Amir-ud-din was involved. There are conflicting versions about his descent, but it seems probably that he was the son of Rafiq Mandal, a disciple of Maulawi 'Abdul Rahman (of Lucknow), who, in his turn, was the *Khalifa* of Maulawi Wilayat 'Ali. Maulawi 'Abdul Rahman preached *jihad* in Malda and subsequently settled down in that district. His enthusiasm for the cause was great and his organizing capacity considerable. He used to send men and money to the Frontier. Rafiq Mandal whole-heartedly participated in these activities. Both the master and the disciple were arrested in 1853 but were released later. Mandal's son, Amir-ud-din, worked for the cause with a missionary zeal and proved himself a worthy son of an idealist father. All these facts were brought to light in the course of the previous trials. Amir-ud-din was given warnings but he persisted in his mission. He exercised great influence in the entire district of Malda and certain parts of Rajshahi and Murshidabad.¹ At last Amir-ud-din was tried for treason in Malda. He was awarded a life sentence by the High Court. His property was confiscated. He was sent to the Andamans in 1872. For a long time he bore the rigours of hard labour. There he also worked as a teacher for some time. In 1883, a general amnesty was declared and Amir-ud-din returned

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIV, p. 370.

home.¹

The second trial was held shortly afterwards at Raj Mahal, in October 1870. Raj Mahal is located in the Bhagalpur division in the province of Bihar. It is a hilly tract. Close to Raj Mahal there is Malda which is a part of West Bengal. In the suburb of Raj Mahal there is a town called Islampur, where lived Ibrahim Mandal, an ardent worker in the cause of *jihad*. He had come at an early age under the influence of the renowned family of Sadiqpur. The term "Mandal" is equivalent to *chawdhri* or *patel* in other parts of the subcontinent. It is perhaps due to the work of men like Ibrahim Mandal that the town of Raj Mahal has to some extent kept up the religious and moral tone to this day.

Immediately after the Malda conspiracy case (1870) Ibrahim Mandal was tried for treason in Raj Mahal and was awarded a similar punishment. He was, however, released in 1878 in the time of Lord Lytton.

Had there been a weak Government, remarks Hunter, it would have succumbed to these activities of the *mujahidin* but the Government being strong, crushed this movement with an iron hand.

Apart from the regular trials described above, a large number of people were arrested and detained in different parts of India. Figures are not available. A typical case is that of Maulawi Ahmadullah who was arrested at Raipore in the Central Provinces in 1869. He was originally a native of Dacca and was active in the movement. He was suspected of having attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the sepoys at Madras. He was detained under Regulation III of 1818.²

Mention may be made at this stage of the treatment meted out by the Government of India to Nawab Siddiq

¹ *Tawarikh i Ajib*, p. 77.

² See unpublished "Proceedings of the Government of Bengal".

Hasan Khan, the husband of the Begam of Bhopal.

The Nawab belonged to an illustrious family of Qanauj, being the son of a famous father, Maulana Awlad Hasan who was a pupil of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and a *Khalifah* of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan himself was one of the foremost religious scholars of his time.¹ He has left 222 works, big and small, of which the more famous are *Fath-ul-Bayan fi Maqasid-il-Quran*, '*Aan-ul-Bari*, *Itihaf-un-Nubala*, etc. He wrote on *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, Ethics, Mysticism, History and Literature. After a chequered career he was married to Shah Jahan Begam, the Ruler of Bhopal, in 1859. Later, in 1872, he was appointed *Mutamad-ul-Muham*. The title of *Nawab Wala Jah Amir-ul-Mulk* was conferred on him. From these key positions he tried to influence the course of events. He particularly encouraged the enforcement of the laws of *Shari'at*.

Because of his views on religious matters in general and *jihad* in particular, and because of his family background he came to be looked upon with suspicion by the Government. In 1885 he was accused, among other things, of popularizing the idea of *jihad* and indulging in anti-British activities. He was also accused of propagating "Wahhabism". He was deprived of his title and of all the authority he had exercised since 1872.² Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan bore his persecution with the greatest fortitude. He was consoled, as he himself writes, by the examples of the sufferings of some of the greatest figures in Islamic history. He was even congratulated on the occasion by no less a person than Maulawi

¹ There is an excellent autobiography of the Nawab, entitled *Ibqa-ul-manan bilqa-il-mahan*. A full scale biography in four volumes is available in Urdu by his son, Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Hasan Khan, entitled *Maathir Siddiqi* (Lucknow, 1924).

For a brief description see, Khan, Abu Yahya Imam, *Tarajim i Ulama i Hadith i Hindi* (Delhi, 1938), pp. 271-312.

² Muhammad 'Ali, Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 167-199.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-73.

'Ubaidullah, the author of the famous work *Tuhfat-ul-Hind*.¹ The Nawab died in 1890 at the age of 59.²

It was only gradually and not until the movement of *jihad* had declined that the British changed their attitude towards the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. These political trials and detentions came to an end about 1885.

Up to about 1885, however, apart from the policy of persecution the British also did their best to create ill-will between the successors of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and other Muslims. Many Muslims played into their hands. The term *Wahhabi* had been applied to them at an early stage by Maulawi Fazl i Rasul of Badaun (d. 1872).³ Government now did everything to popularise this term in order to discredit them among the Muslim masses. Anti-*jihad fatwas* were also secured. From about 1868 onwards numerous *fatwas* were given on the subject of *jihad* and the status of the so-called Wahabis. A charitable view of the action of those '*ulama* who pronounced these *fatwas* would be that, in all probability, they wanted to appease the British so that Muslims might be saved from the persecution to which they were subject at the time. There is no doubt that the anti-*jihad fatwas* were most welcome to the British because they reassured them of the loyalty of the Muslims and because they constituted an attack on the movement for *jihad*. One of the most important of these *fatwas* was by Maulawi Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873) who for all practical purposes had made Bengal his home, and who was an erstwhile disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid.⁴ In a lecture on 23rd November, 1870, before the Mohammedan Literary Society, Calcutta, which had

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³ 'Ali, Rahman, *Tazkirah i Ulama i Hind*, 2nd Edition (Lucknow, 1914), pp. 163-64.

⁴ On the life and work of Maulawi Karamat 'Ali, books on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid throw considerable light. See also Rahman. *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72.

been organized by Khan Bahadur 'Abdul Latif, Maulawi Karamat 'Ali preached against the idea of *jihad* in India.¹

In the meantime, there came a change in the general attitude of at least one section of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. He himself had discouraged sectarian feelings and scrupulously avoided creating ill-will among the Muslims over unimportant matters. He had not taken up an uncompromising attitude even on the fundamental question of *taqlid*. But there was a group among his followers who adhered to extreme Wahhabi views and rejected *taqlid*. They called themselves *Ahl i Hadith* and resented the term "Wahhabi". It was at their instance that in 1883 the Government of India issued instructions to discontinue the use of the term "Wahhabi" in official correspondence.²

As the movement of *jihad* gradually declined and enthusiasm dwindled, the *Ahl i Hadith* became involved in petty sectional controversies. Their insistence on *Amin bil jilr* or the calling aloud of *Amin* in congregational prayers and *rafa-Yadain*, the raising of hands to one's ears on the occasion of going into *rukū'* in the course of prayers led to conflicts with the orthodox Muslims of the *Hanafi* school, to which adhered the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of Hind-Pakistan.

Thus not only numerous disputes arose over inconsequential matters but a peculiar type of trials in which the *Ahl i Hadith* were involved took place in connection with their right to offer prayers in the mosques built by and habitually attended by the *Hanafi* Muslims.³ The points at issue were frivolous, yet they were fought

¹ The proceedings of the meeting were published a year later in 1871 at Lucknow (Naval Kishore Press).

² See Letter No. 1758, dated 3 December, 1886, from the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department) to the Secretary of the Punjab, quoted in *Maathir i Siddiqi*, Vol. III, p. 163.

³ "The Right of Wahhabis to pray in Mosques," judgment by Rai Bahadur S.C. Bose (Allahabad, 1895).

out not only in the lower courts but at the level of the High Court and even the Privy Council.

From among these trials may be mentioned the trial of Ramzan, Muhammad Husain and 'Abdul Rahman as typical of the rest. It came up before the High Court, Allahabad in March 1885 and arose out of a dispute in a mosque known as Masjid Allu in *muhalla* Madan-pura, Banaras. The mosque was built by one 'Ali Muhammad, popularly known as Allu, who like most of the Sunni Muslims in the subcontinent, was a follower of Imam Abu Hanifa. After his death the mosque came under the charge of his brother-in-law, 'Abdullah. Ramzan, the principal accused, was a close relation of Allu, being his son-in-law, but he was an *Ahli Hadith*. The other two accused belonged to the same religious school as Ramzan. The three accused entered the mosque on 22 August, 1884, and joined the congregational prayer. Towards the end of the recitation of the *Surat al-Fatihah*, the introductory chapter of the *Qur'an*, they uttered the word "*Amin*" in a loud voice, which was not in accordance with the *Hanafi* practice which favours the utterance of "*Amin*" in a low voice. This caused a good deal of commotion at the end of the prayers. A heated discussion took place and the three persons were forcibly ejected from the mosque and were told not to enter the mosque again until they conformed with the general practice.

On 1 September, 1884, 'Abdullah and certain other persons made a representation to the District Magistrate with regard to the above-mentioned incident of 22 August, expressing their fears as regards breach of peace if nothing was done to prevent such occurrences in the future. Since no action was taken by the Magistrate, 'Abdullah, on his own, instituted a case against the three persons. The Magistrate tried the accused and sentenced all of them to a fine of Rs. 25/- each, under

Section 296 of the Indian Penal Code. In case of non-payment of the fine, the accused were to undergo one month's rigorous imprisonment.

On appeal the matter went up to the High Court at Allahabad. The case was heard in March 1885 by the Full Bench which included Justice Syed Mahmud. The sentence was quashed on the ground that it was unlawful to prevent a person from exercising his just rights.

Other cases of a similar type arose in many parts of India—the Panjab, U.P. and Bengal, such as the trial resulting from a dispute between the *Ahl i Hadith* and the *muqallids* in Barh in the district of Darbhanga which went up to the High Court at Calcutta in 1904, and *Ataullah vrs. Azimullah* and *Jangu vrs. Ahmadullah* which went up to the High Court at Allahabad in 1889. The Privy Council also heard a case of this nature, namely *Fazl Naim vrs. Maula Bakhsh*.¹

These trials were a clear indication that in course of time emphasis had shifted from fundamentals to minor matters and men who ought to have been the protagonists of *jihad* had become the champions of *Amin bil jih*r and *rafa-Yadain*.

¹ For a description of these trials see the relevant Law Report and Proceedings.

Maulawi 'Abu'i-Wafa Sanaullah has compiled an account of these trials in a book, entitled *Futuhāt i Ahl i Hadīth* (Victories of the *Ahl i Hadis*), published from Amritsar (n.d.). The title of the book itself is a testimony to the changed outlook of the new leaders of the movement who took pride in such "victories" over fellow Muslims and who regarded their successes in the courts of law as a vindication of their stand.

مبین تفاوت و از کجاست تابکجا

CHAPTER XV

HINDU REFORMIST AND REVIVALIST MOVEMENTS

ISLAM after its entry into Hind-Pakistan offered a challenge to Hinduism. Islam's emphasis on pure, monotheism and rejection of social distinctions attracted large numbers of Hindus, who began to embrace the new religion preached by its missionaries and *sufis*. Hinduism in defence began to emphasize the hitherto weak trend of *Bhakti*, a belief in a personal, loving God, responsive to the prayers of His worshippers. In order to combat the proselytising vigour of Islam the *Bhaktas* preached that Allah, Ram, and Hari meant the same Supreme Being and launched a widemovement for the abolition of caste distinctions. By the eighteenth century the *Bhakti* movement had exhausted itself and Hinduism deteriorated¹ considerably. The establishment of British rule and Christian missionary activity posed a new challenge to it. The constructive work of the European orientalisists was also an important factor in bringing about Hindu revivalism.

Some measures undertaken by the British administration had a direct impact upon Hindus. Warren Hastings caused the compilation of the Hindu Code and established a Hindu Academy. It also created a consciousness of some of the more glaring social evils, for instance, Lord Wellesley tried to stop the practice of throwing infants into the Ganges. The administrative policies of the British were generally favourable to the Hindus and helped in the revival of their religion

¹ "Learning had almost ceased, ordinary education scarcely existed; spiritual religion was to be met with only in the quietest places; and a coarse idolatry with cruel and immoral rites held all the centres of population", Farquhar, J. N., *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1919), p. 3.

and culture.

Catholic Christianity had made a sustained onslaught on Hinduism in the South and Western India long before Protestant missionary work was started in an organized manner after 1813. The Catholic missionaries tried to present Christianity as an indigenous religion. Thomas Stephens, an English Jesuit, claimed to have unearthed the 'Christian Purana' which still finds a place in Marathi literature. Twenty years later, Robert de Nobily, an Italian, nicknamed the 'Roman Brahman' who did extensive work in South India during the early part of the seventeenth century produced the 'Christian Veda', the Fifth Veda, as an ancient Indian Scripture. The forgery was not discovered until about a hundred and fifty years later. These two works bear testimony to the remarkable thoroughness with which the early missionaries cultivated the language and culture of the people of India among whom they lived.¹ The Catholic missionaries went even to the extent of allowing the converts to retain their caste. The view that caste does not interfere with the principles of Catholic Christianity has been largely accepted by the Roman missionaries in South India and in Bengal.

Protestant missionary work started with the establishment of the Danish Missions in the Tamil country in the eighteenth century, but it was William Carey, an Englishman, and his colleagues like Marshman and Ward, who roused the West to its "duty" of converting the non-Christian people of the world. Carey after his arrival in Bengal, in 1793, settled at Malda as an indigo-planter. He studied Sanskrit and Bengali and soon after began the work of translating the Bible into Bengali and subsequently into other languages. In 1800, he settled in Serampore, a Danish settlement

¹ Nicol, Macnicol, *The living Religions of the Indian People* (Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta).

about twelve miles north of Calcutta, and later taught Sanskrit and Bengali in Fort William College. The Protestant Mission was given official encouragement by an Act of Parliament in 1813. The Charter Act of 1813 gave sanction to the work of Christian missions. This encouraged Carey to take a wider view of missionary work and to raise his voice against *sati* and other evils in Hindu society. He set up a printing press in Serampore and started the first newspaper in Bengali, the *Samachar-Darpan*. He compiled perhaps the first Bengali dictionary and his writings did much to create a renaissance of Bengali literature. By these and other activities Carey was winning for Christianity a new position of respect. By 1826, the Mission was running one hundred and twenty-six vernacular schools in addition to boarding houses and orphanages.

Alexander Duff of the Scottish Church opened an English school in Calcutta with the assistance of Raja Rammohun Roy. He was instrumental in presenting Christianity to the upper classes of the Bengali Hindus. John Wilson and John Anderson, both of the same Church, started similar work in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. This was followed some time later by the work of women missionaries among women. By the middle of the nineteenth century medical work was incorporated into missionary activities.

The orientalist rendered great service to Hindu learning. Sir William Jones, a famous orientalist, helped Warren Hastings in the compilation of the Hindu Code, founded the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta and translated Kalidas's *Shakuntala* into English. Charles Wilkins published a translation of the *Bhagavada-Gita*. Almost at the same time Anquetil de Perron translated into Latin the Persian version of the *Upanishad*. L'Abbe Dubois, a Catholic missionary from France, living and working in the Tamil

country (1792-1823) wrote a book entitled *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, which gives a vivid description of Hindu society.

Some of these forces threatened the very existence of Hinduism whereas others gave it self-confidence. Hinduism reacted, adapting itself to the new circumstances and throwing up a number of movements and sects, some of which oriented themselves in varying degrees towards the West.

Rammohun Roy was born in Radhanagar in May 1772.¹ His father was a Rarha Brahmin of the Vaishnava sect. He was in the service of Siraj-ud-Daula² and his successors. At the age of twelve, Rammohun was sent by his father to Azimabad—Patna to study Arabic and Persian. He acquired such proficiency in these two languages that he was nicknamed Maulawi Rammohun Roy. He took a great interest in *sufi* literature and perhaps also studied philosophy of the *Mu'tazilah*. He was so deeply influenced by Muslim culture that he acquired the habits and tastes of a Muslim.³ In private conversation he delighted in quoting from *sufi* authors. Struck by the simplicity of Muslim faith and worship, he could not hide his hatred of idolatry and left his home soon after his return from Patna. He did not return home until he was twenty years old.

At the age of twenty-two he began to study English and in five years time he was able to speak and write it correctly. He came to Murshidabad after the death of his father in 1803 and wrote in the following year a pamphlet in Persian with an Arabic preface in refutation of idolatry, entitled the *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*.

¹ In the inscription on his tomb his date of birth is given as 1774. For a discussion on the correct date see, Chandra, R. and Majumdar, J. K., *Selection from Official Letters and Documents, relating to the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Calcutta, 1938), pp. XX, XXI.

² Mayhew, Arthur, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London), p.171.

³ Sastri, Siv Nath, *History of Brahmo Samaj*.

He secured employment in the collectorate. After retirement from Government service he settled down in Calcutta where he established, in 1815, a society called Atmiya Sabha, which held weekly discussions on matters of religion. Between 1816 and 1819 he published both in Bengali and English an abstract of the *Vedanta Sutras* and two pamphlets in defence of monotheism arguing that idolatry lacks the sanction of Hindu scriptures. This offended his orthodox Hindu compatriots.

After studying Christianity through Greek and Hebrew sources, he published, in 1820, from Calcutta the *Precepts of Jesus, a Guide to Peace and Happiness*, which consisted extracts from the Bible. He stated in the preface that the code of conduct embodied in the Bible is admirably fitted to create a consciousness in man of his duties towards God and his fellow-men. This involved him in bitter controversy with the Serampore missionaries who accused him of 'mangling the Bible' by denying its infallibility. During his stay in Calcutta he helped Alexander Duff, a Scottish Church missionary, in opening Hindu College which ultimately became the Presidency College of Calcutta. He denounced *sati* and polygamy and advocated women's right to inherit paternal property; he also helped in the foundation of the Unitarian Society. In the beginning the Society held the divine service in English; later at the suggestion of his friends the service was conducted in the vernacular. Simultaneously on 20 August, 1828, he convened the first meeting of the Brahmo Sabha which was later named 'Brahmo Samaj'. His supporters were three wealthy men of Calcutta including Raja Debendra Nath Tagore. The services of the Samaj were held each Saturday morning, consisting of hymns and songs in Sanskrit and Bengali. The Samaj had no organisation, no creed and no rules of membership.

In November 1830 Rammohun sailed for England with a mission from the Emperor Akbar Shah II. He welcomed this opportunity of visiting England and studying the manners and customs of the English people. It was on this occasion that the title of *Rajah* was conferred upon him by the Emperor. He was accompanied by his adopted son, Raja Ram Roy and two servants, of whom one was a Brahmin cook, for, the Raja in spite of all his liberalism and catholicity, was afraid of being branded as an outcaste by his countrymen. On his arrival in England in April 1831, he was well received in the governing circles of the country. He died in Bristol on 27 September, 1833.

Though Rammohun Roy praised Jesus and Christianity, upheld the conception of Islamic *tauhid*, and believed in the Vedantic conception of the common soul, yet he was not a Christian because he did not subscribe to the infallibility of the Bible, he was not a Hindu because he rejected the conception of transmigration and *karma* and obviously he was not a Muslim because he did not accept all the Islamic doctrines. According to Miss Mary Carpenter,¹ he was essentially a theist and a denouncer of idolatry. His great object was to evolve a kind of universal unitarianism. The great ambition of his life was to promote true love of God and man. This he tried to effect by bringing together men of different persuasions, for the worship of one Living God. India, he said, would inevitably remain India and no gift from outside would be of any value unless it was naturalized.

In 1841, Debendra Nath Tagore, son of Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore, who had supported the Samaj after Raja Rammohun Roy's death, was soon recognized as its leader. The Tattvabodhini School was started to train missionaries for counteracting Christian

¹ Carpenter, Miss Mary, *The Last Days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy*, Calcutta.

propaganda and in 1843, the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* came out as the mouthpiece of the Samaj for the propagation of its ideas. The same year vows were taken by members to worship one God and to abstain from idolatry. At the same time, a brief form of prayer was compiled and a book of liturgy followed. By the end of 1847, the number of its members reached six hundred and forty-seven. After a laborious collection of the copies of the *Vedas* from Banaras, the doctrine of the infallibility of the *Vedas* was abandoned : only those portions were accepted which conformed to monotheism. Knowledge was declared to consist in nature and intuition. No one book was considered authoritative.

Its theology declared God as a personal being with moral attributes, Who hears and answers prayers, and Who never incarnates himself. It also held that God alone is to be worshipped, that Hindu asceticism, temples and fixed forms of worship are unnecessary, that repentance and abstinence from sin are the only way to redemption and salvation. In 1857 the Samaj was further strengthened by the adherence of Keshab Chandra Sen who, after resigning his job in the Bank of Bengal, threw himself completely in the work of the Samaj.

An English journal, *The Indian Mirror*, was started by the Samaj. In 1864 Keshab was invested as the *Acharya* of the Samaj, the *Pradhan Acharya* being Debendra Nath himself.

Next year on his return from a tour of different parts of India, Keshab differed with the Chief *Acharya*, over the wearing of the caste thread at the time of conducting prayers and seceded from the Samaj with a considerable number of his followers. The rest of the Samaj continued to exist with a small group of influential supporters. After the retirement of Debendra Nath, his son, Dwijendra Nath Tagore, became its leader.

This section of the Samaj henceforward was called *Adi* (original) Brahmo Samaj. Since 1872 it has been declining. Today it can hardly be distinguished from several other sects of Hinduism. It recognizes caste indirectly and adheres to the Vedantist conception of the direct communion of the human soul with the 'Supreme Soul'.

Keshab Chandra took more than a year to rally his followers. In November 1886 of the same year he held a meeting with his followers with usual chanting of hymns and prayers from Hindu, Christian, Muslim and Zoroastrian scriptures and formed the Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj as a parallel organisation to the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Debendra Nath. New members were enrolled and a Book of Prayers with passages from Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Muslim and Confucian scriptures was compiled. Prayers were held on Sundays. However, before his departure for England, Keshab Chandra abandoned his early eclecticism, affirmed his faith in Vaishnava's *Bhakti* and adopted Chitanya's *Kirtana*. He also claimed that revelation is an additional source of truth. After this he visited England. Meanwhile some of his followers drew up ambitious plans of social reform and education laying special emphasis upon the education of women. New form of ritual and vows of marriage were established. In 1872 the Brahmo Marriage Act, for which Keshab Chandra had made great efforts, was passed, abolishing child marriage and polygamy, and legalizing remarriage of widows and intercaste marriages.

Soon after his return, opposition to Keshab Chandra gained ground in the Samaj mainly because he behaved in an autocratic manner and allowed his followers to prostrate themselves before him. Keshab Chandra in spite of his catholicity of views was against giving women freedom and higher education demanded by his

progressive followers. The split came on the issue of the marriage of his minor daughter with the minor Maharaja of Cooch Bihar. The prestige of Keshab Chandra went down in the eyes of his followers, because he had always fought against child marriage and idolatry. In spite of the assurances given by him, the marriage was solemnised with Hindu rites. In 1878 the much deferred revolt took place and the majority of his followers, most of them men of influence, seceded and formed the Sadharan (Common) Brahmo Samaj.

The new name was suggestive of the changed character of the Samaj. Only those who renounced idolatry and caste were enrolled as its members and vigorous missionary work was started under Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri. The Samaj affirmed its faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, in the eternity and immortality of the soul and the rewarding of merit and the punishing of sin remedially by God.

After the second schism Keshab Chandra in one of his Calcutta speeches described himself as one in communion with Heaven. In another he acknowledged the divinity of Christ. In 1879, perhaps as a result of his association with the ascetic Ram Krishna Paramhansa who lived a few miles north of Calcutta he issued a proclamation emphasising his belief in the motherhood of God. In 1881 on the occasion of the annual function of the Samaj, he announced the New Dispensation as the latest revelation for harmonizing all religions. On this occasion a banner was displayed on which were inscribed the words *Nava Bidhan* and a composite symbol made of the trident, the cross and the crescent, representing the great religions of the world. On a big table lay the scriptures of the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Christians and the Muslims. He was attended by twelve of his 'Apostles'. The New Dispensation according to his followers means that all established religions of the world are true, not merely

that truth is found in all religions. Separate Orders were formed, each under strict vows, of men and women, boys and girls. Hindu and Christian rites and ceremonies supposed to conform to theism were introduced. He found solace in the worship of Durga. He composed a hymn in praise of Vishnu which became an integral part of Brahmo liturgy. Baptism and Lord's Supper were introduced as indispensable ritual. A calendar of saints was prepared to help the worshippers in their contemplation to concentrate their thoughts on the individual seers. Next year, a mystic dance was introduced. All this remains one of Akbar's eclectic *Tauhid i Ilahi*. In 1882 he completely changed his thesis in his lecture entitled 'India asks who is Christ'? He now taught the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity and abandoned monotheism. Keshab Chandra Sen breathed his last in January 1884. His death was almost fatal to the Samaj.

According to some he died a Christian; according to others he died, with prayers to Mother-God for *Nirvana* on his lips. It is indeed difficult to deny the deep influence of Christianity on his life and thought.¹ Raja Rammohun Roy denied the infallibility of the Bible but accepted the superiority of Christian ethics. Keshab Chandra went further. He chanted the praises of Jesus Christ in words overflowing with emotions and invited others to imitate his virtues and adopt a Christian attitude towards social problems.

Keshab Chandra was a gifted man with imagination, ready eloquence and an impressive personality. What appealed most to his followers was his devotional life. He lacked, however, organizing capacity and the tact for keeping his followers attached to himself for a long time. Division and discord in the Samaj followed his death.

¹ Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

The Brahmo Samaj, though well-known in England and America, had not been able to attract adherents outside India, nor has it ever had an appeal for the common people of the subcontinent. No Muslim, no Christian of any importance, did ever subscribe to its creed. According to the Census Report, the total strength of the Brahmo Samaj in 1901 was 4050. Yet it has exerted significant influence over the social life of Bengal. The prime impulse to the Brahmo movement came from Christianity; the Brahmo Church has helped to break Hindu prejudice towards that religion. An indirect result was that a good number of educated Hindus became Christians.

The Prarthana Samaj of Bombay resembles to the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal and owes its birth to similar circumstances, namely the spread of English education in the Bombay Presidency, the advent of progressive ideas and the danger of conversion to which the indigenous people were exposed through Christian missionary propaganda. The Hindus started two secret societies, the Gupta Sabha and the Paramhansa Sabha in 1819, for discussing religious questions and promoting liberal ideas. When in 1860 their existence became known to the conservative elements, the Sabhas broke up.

The liberal ideas which survived were given an impetus by the visits of Keshab Chandra Sen in 1864 and in 1867. The Prarthana Samaj, was founded under the leadership of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang (1823-98), a friend of Dr. Wilson, a well-known Protestant missionary of the area. The chief objectives of the Samaj were promotion of theistic worship of a congregational type, social reform and propaganda. In 1870 Keshab Chandra Sen strengthened the organisation by another visit to Bombay and two prominent young men, M.G. Ranade and R.G. Bhandarkar joined the Samaj. Macnicol¹

¹ Farquhar in "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics", X, 152.

calls Ranade, on account of the influence he exercised upon the Samaj, the most steadfast and the most widely influential leader of the nineteenth century theistic movement. A proposal for merging it with the Keshab Chandra's Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta did not succeed. A few years later in 1882 the Samaj received a new accession of strength by the adhesion of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar; he and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar became, after Ranade's death, most influential members of the Bombay and Poona branches respectively. The Samaj did not pursue organised missionary work, though individual workers like S. P. Kelkar and V. R. Shinde were not lacking. It had branches at Ahmadabad, Poona, Kirki, Kolhapur and Satara and in several cities of Madras Presidency. In its theology it is almost identical with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. It accepts God as the Creator of the Universe. He is eternal, infinite and saviour of sinners. His worship leads to happiness in this world and the next. True worship is exclusive faith in God and love and reverence for Him. The worship of images and other created objects is not true adoration of God. God does not incarnate Himself, nor in the opinion of this sect has He directly revealed a book which is wholly infallible. All men are His children and are to one another brothers without distinction. Hindu thought and theology largely mould the life of the Samaj, yet Christianity has exerted great influence. Hymns of Namdeva, Tukarama and other Maharashtra *Bhaktas* are used in prayers. Christian influence is noticeable in its choice of congregational prayers on Sundays, its educational reforms and the conception and organisation of social service. But unlike the Brahmo Samaj members of the Prarthana Samaj do not take vows of abandoning of idolatry and the caste and therefore the Prarthana Samaj is nearer to Hinduism than the Brahmo Samaj. The ritual of

worship is the same as that of the Brahmo Samaj except in the matter of language which is either Marathi or Gujrati depending upon the area. Most of the literature of the Samaj is in vernacular, which is not so copious. It has a social programme as well. It runs a mission for the depressed classes and a Social Service League. Actually its achievements in social service are out of proportion to its small membership.

The Arya Samaj is one of those movements which claim to derive their inspiration from India's past and base its principles upon her ancient literature. In certain important respects the Arya Smaj has, however, been deeply influenced by Islam, for instance, its insistence on monotheism, its rejection of idolatry, its endeavours to introduce reform like the remarriage of widows and the abolition of caste, and more than anything else, its departure from Hindu tradition in accepting the concept of individual conversion. In spite of this influence it has shown great hostility to Islam and has been at the root of many Hindu communal movements directed against the Muslims.

The Arya Samaj which is powerful in the Indian Panjab and the Uttar Pradesh was founded by a Kathiawar Brahmin, Mula Shankar, later known as Dayanand Sarasvati (1824-1883). His life falls into three parts, life at home (1824-45), his wanderings and studies (1845-65) and religious leadership (1865-83). Early in his youth he developed an aversion to idolatry which increased in intensity on the night of his initiation to the mysteries of the Shiva cult, when he saw a mouse defiling the image of the powerful Shiva without his being able to protect himself. Soon after his sister's death, he left his home at the age of twenty-one never to see it again. He came under the influence of Pramaned, a Vedantist ascetic, of the Sarasvati Order, who gave him the title of Dayanand; hence he became known as Dayanand

Sarasvati. Subsequently he came under the influence of Virajananda, a blind scholar of *Vedas* at Mathura. The latter asked him to destroy all the modern books he had, and go to the world to spread the knowledge of the *Vedas*. Accordingly, he began his travels once more. He became a monotheist, and in 1866 preached against idolatry to the assembled pilgrims at Hardwar, telling them that ceremonial bathing at sacred places has no spiritual value. He conversed and argued with *pundits* and spoke to the people in Sanskrit without any great success. Later he appreciated the value of organised missionary work and the use of vernacular as an effective vehicle for reaching the common people. He gave up his ascetic garb and took to wearing ordinary clothes and began speaking and preaching in Hindi. In 1874 he completed his *Satyartha Prakash* which has become the mainstay of the Arya faith. In 1875 he announced his scheme of the Arya Samaj in Bombay. In 1877, while at Delhi, he received an invitation from some Lahore citizens for visiting the Panjab. He made Lahore the headquarters of the Arya Samaj Movement. For six years more he toured extensively to open new centres and came in contact with many of the leading men of the various communities including Colonel Olcott of the Theosophical Society and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. In his utterances and writings he constantly called upon the Hindus to guard their ancient faith and excited them against Islam and Christianity. He condemned the eating of beef in the second edition of the *Satyartha Prakash*; which he had legalized in the first under certain conditions. In 1882, he founded the Gauraksha Sabha—the Association for the protection of the cow—and published the *Gaukaruna Nidhi*, law of kindness to the cow, to rouse Hindu feeling against the killing of cows by the Christians and Muslims. He drew up a monster petition to the Government asking

for the stoppage of cow slaughter. He died at Ajmer in 1883, during a tour of Rajputana.

Dayanand's watchword was 'back to the *Vedas*'. His religious teachings implied the slogan 'India for the Hindus'. He wanted Hinduism to be the sole religion of the subcontinent and the Hindus to be its masters. To achieve the first, the Hindu religion was to be purified of all accretions by reversion to the *Vedas*, and foreign religions like Islam and Christianity were to be pushed out of the subcontinent. Through the *Shuddhi* or rites of purification Muslims and Christians were to be brought into the fold of Hinduism. This last was obviously a new weapon, for till then, Hinduism did not believe in individual conversion.¹

The portions of *Satyartha Prakash* devoted to Islam and Christianity are extremely unfair and for their crudeness can hardly be matched in the literature of religious controversy. Dayanand's theology consists of the following salient features. God is the prime cause of all knowledge. God is one, He is to be worshipped spiritually and not through images. The four *Vedas* are the source of all knowledge, and contain all religious and scientific truths. It is the paramount duty of every Arya to teach, preach and hear them. One should speak the truth. Ignorance should be dispelled and knowledge should be spread. All other religious books of the Hindus were not inspired by the *Rishis* and should not be followed when they conflict with the *Vedas*.

His conception of the *Vedas* and his interpretation of their passages were both peculiar. Being the repository of heavenly knowledge, the *Vedas*, according to him, embody the fundamental principles of all sciences. Thus the seed of all scientific discovery and invention

¹ The rite amongst other things consisted of the administering of *pancha rasna* or five jewels which included the five excrecences of the cow—milk, butter, curds, urine and dung. The convert had to eat *pancha rasna*.

lies embeded in the *Vedas*. It is also claimed that all religions have their common sources in the *Vedas*, the differences are the outcome of the different environments. Based on the *Vedas* being the eternal utterances of God, his system affirms belief in *Karma*, metempsychosis and sanctity of the cow. Yet, he differs from Hinduism in his denial of the Hindu Pantheon, in his condemnation of idolatry, caste, sacrifices and child marriage, and in his advocacy of the marriage of widows. "No Hindu ancient or modern ever taught what he teaches and we need scarcely say that every Western scholar repudiates both his method and his results."¹

The Arya Samajists condemn modern Hindu literature. They hold that along with the existence of God, the soul and elemental matter are eternal and co-existent with Him. The soul undergoes transmigration according to the laws of *Karma*. Forgiveness is unthinkable because laws of *Karma* are inexorable. Salvation comes by continued good action. God only watches and presides over the inexorable law of *Karma*. Arya doctrine denies divine incarnation. The *homa* or the fire ritual which is one of the forms of Arya worship is said to possess the utilitarian value of purifying the air. The Hindu practice of ancestor worship embodied in *Shradh* is useless, so too are pilgrimages. Miracles are denied. The *Satyartha Prakash* commends many laws of Manu. Some of the austere practices are in sharp contrast with his approval and prescription of *niyoga*, whereby he permits the acceptance of seed from a stranger by a married woman who needs a male issue. According to *Satyartha Prakash* "a man may also contract 'niyoga' with eleven women, one after another, just as a woman may enter into 'niyoga' relationship with eleven men, one after the

¹ Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

other".¹ Dayanand died in 1883; his work was carried on with great enthusiasm by his successors.

The Aryas split up into two sections because of differences on the questions of eating meat and the desirability of higher education. The progressive meat-eaters were nicknamed 'The Collegers' whereas, the conservative vegetarians called themselves the Mahatma Party. The College Party were champions of Western and scientific education; they maintain a system of colleges and schools. The Mahatma Party has been maintaining since 1902, the Gurkula Maha-Vidyalaya at Hardwar which imparts Hindu education to its alumni who are kept there under almost ascetic conditions from the age of eight to the age of twenty-five. The Arya Samaj has done useful social and educational work. Its defiance of idolatry, condemnation of child marriage, priestcraft, self-torture, are praiseworthy but few among its members have given up caste. Its main defect is contentiousness and a tendency to pick up quarrels with other denominations and religions which its followers have inherited from their founder.

Radha-Swami Satsang² is a Vaishnavite sect which believes in an unbroken succession of the *Gurus* and regards them as recipients of revelation and dispensers of salvation. The first *Guru* of the order was Tulsi Ram, an Agra banker also known as Shiva Dayal (1818-1878) who was credited with the power of enabling his disciple to experience a spiritual trance (*samadhi*). He publicly proclaimed his doctrine in 1861. He left two books—the *Sar-bachan*—one in Hindi prose and the other in verse. His tomb lies in Radha-Swami Gardens, Dayal-Bagh, Agra. He is also known as Radha-Swami

¹ Sarasvati, Dayanand, *Satyartha-Prakash* (Hindi, Ajmer, 1990 *Sambh*), p. 74.

² Radha is the cow-herdess consort of Krishna, who is worshipped as an incarnation of God. The sect was called Radha-Swami because the first *Guru* and his wife used to be dressed up as Krishna and Radha respectively to receive the adoration of the disciples and the second *Guru* too did the same.

Dayal and Swamiji Maharaj.

The second *Guru* was Rai Saligram Bahadur, a retired Postmaster-General of U. P., whose mind turned to religion in his early youth on seeing the destruction wrought in the War of Independence. He served the first *Guru* to the extent of doing menial duties in his household. He donated a considerable part of his salary to the *Guru's* family. He succeeded to the guruship after Shiva Dayal's death in 1878. Rai Bahadur Saligram, the second *Guru*, gave to the Satsang its theology and the modernity of its character. He wrote in Hindi verse the *Prem-bani* and *Prem-patra* and the English treatise entitled *Radha-Swami mat Prakash* which contains the creed of the Order. His title was *Huzur Maharaj*. The Third *Guru* (succession in 1885) was Brahma Shankar Misra, a Bengali Brahmin, with high academic qualifications. He died in 1907 and left behind a few poems in Hindi and a manuscript entitled *Discourses on Radha-Swami Sect*, and a few letters which were printed subsequently under the title *Solace to the Satsangis*. He lies buried in Banaras.

The sect's concept of cosmogony approaches the Buddhist scheme which conceives of three planes of the world, the formless, that of form, and the world of desires. In pursuance of the Vaishnavite conception, God, the world and the soul are realities, the soul is an *amsa* or particle of God; the spirit-current (*sabda*) which streams from the Supreme Being, is the source of all things, corresponding to *Shakti* or energy in the Vaishnava system. The concepts of metempsychosis and incarnation are retained but it is man who is incarnated and not God. The practice of the sect is summed up in the phrase, *Surat-Shabd-yog*, which is the union of the human soul with the spirit-current. The method of initiation into spiritual life in the sect cannot be ascertained with accuracy on account of the vow of secrecy en-

joined upon its members. Farquhar thinks that a considerable part of its teaching consists of 'occult practices of hypnotic nature', enabling the initiate to see wonderful sights. The *Guru's* photograph given to the disciples, forms part of devotional exercises because the *Guru* represents the highest stage of being and stays on the earth for the salvation of his believers. The sect recognizes no temples and no images except the relics of the *Guru*. The prayer meetings of the Satsangis start with hymn singing followed by an address by the *Guru* or his deputy. The portrait of the *Guru* is an object of worship and holy contemplation and when he attends a devotional meeting, he receives homage by prostration, since the *Guru* is an incarnation of the Supreme Being. A follower of any religion can become its members without necessarily having to give up his faith.

A man's redemption is only possible through contemplation and mercy of the Supreme Being. Through the practice of *Surat-Shabd-Yoga*, man regains his previous individuality, else he is relegated to a lower stage of the creation. A devotee, who has merged himself into the Supreme Being, can assume individuality at pleasure and is called a perfect soul and a beloved son of the Supreme Being. In order to prevent the Spirit from sinking lower at the time of different births of the guidance and instructions of a true *Guru*, are necessary. He is none but the Supreme Being's Viceroy incarnate, the Radha-Swami. Prayer is necessary for blessings and mercy and prayers must be offered with the whole heart.

Theosophy which claims to be the direct knowledge of God by man, was taught for the first time as a system of religious science and practical life by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. It was carried much further by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Leadbeater. It purports to be the final truth of the Universe taught in different lands and at different times by founders of

religion and teachers of philosophy but revealed anew to Madame Blavatsky by certain *Rishis* living in Tibet.

Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (b. 1831), the last word being a surname of her first husband, was a Russian woman, born of a German father. She is described by Mrs. Besant as a 'Psychic of a very high order', and spiritual phenomena seem to have attended her from early life. She left her husband and toured extensively between 1848 and 1872 living a 'wild life' according to her own confession to two Russian men of letters, M. Aksakoff and M. Solovyoff. She went to the U.S.A. in 1873, became a naturalized citizen of the States, and started writing on spiritualism and occultism. She struck acquaintance with several journalists and men of letters including Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, an ex-veteran of the Civil War. In September 1875, she founded the Theosophical Society in New York with Colonel Olcott as President, W. R. Judge as Vice-President and herself as Corresponding Secretary. The aim of the Society was to make an experimental comparison between spiritualism and magic of the ancients. She published in America *The ISIS, Unveiled* in defence of the ancient religions. The book became popular because of the exposition of certain facts, hazily known to her, but confirmed by later scientific investigation. It included a virulent attack on Christianity and modern sciences. Facing strong opposition to her polemics against Christianity in the United States, she sailed to India with Colonel Olcott in 1879, and lived in Bombay for the next three years, working jointly for sometime with the Arya Samaj. The Society separated from the Samaj and identified itself with Indian culture and Indian religions, and thus increased in membership and popularity. In 1882 the Society moved to Adiyar near Madras, and soon after, established nearly a hundred branches in the subcontinent. In 1884, during Blavatsky and

Colonel Olcott's absence in England, the *Christian College Magazine*, Madras, published certain letters which exposed her (Madame Blavatsky's) fraud in issuing letters purported to have been received direct from her Tibetan masters, Moriya and Koot Homi. In that connexion Madame Coulomb, the former librarian of the Society, threatened to sue Blavatsky and Morgon for accusing her of forging the letters published in the *Christian College Magazine*. At this Blavatsky slipped off from India. She then wrote, in Europe, her greatest work entitled *The Secret Doctrine* which was, in fact, a Primer of Theosophy. Blavatsky died in 1892. The most constructive part of her achievement was the assertion that there was much more in the religion of the ancients than occultism and magic, and her advocacy for better treatment of Hinduism and Buddhism. After Blavatsky's death and resignation of Colonel Olcott, W.R. Judge became the President of the Society. In 1894, Mr. Judge broke away from the Society taking with him most of its American members and founding The Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society with headquarters at Point Lomas in California. Mrs. Annie Besant, since her arrival in India in 1893, had been one of its most active members, and had succeeded in organizing the rump of the Society with great success. By her extensive tours in defence of Hinduism, foundation of the Central Hindu College at Banaras and prolific writings, she infused new life into the Society. Leadbeater was another leading member of the Society and a prominent writer on occultism. One of Leadbeater's findings through 'etheric records' of past events is that Jesus and Christ are two different persons neither of them being the son of God. He asserted that Jesus was born in 105 B. C. and Christ used the body of Jesus as a vehicle. This has been repeated by other theosophical writers like Mead and Mrs. Besant. In 1907

Mrs. Besant become the President of the Theosophical Society of India, which concentrated mainly on occultism and clairvoyance. In 1909, the British Theosophists separated. The Society prophesied in the advent of an incarnated world teacher receiving training in the Society under Mrs. Besant and Leadbeater. Other fantastic claims incorporated in Leadbeater's book entitled, *Man, whence, where and whither*, about the past egos of the members of the Theosophical Society, caused a furious uproar. The students of the Hindu College, Banaras, forced all followers of Mrs. Besant to resign from the staff and about five hundred members left the Society in a body. A further damage to the reputation of the Society followed soon after, when the father of the Madras boy whose advent as a world teacher was being advertised, sued Mrs. Besant and Leadbeater to give back to him the custody of his son, on the ground that Leadbeater was an improper guardian for young boys. The case dragged on for four years and went up to the Privy Council, and brought unwelcome publicity to the Society. Mrs. Besant, however, continued her work of social service and defence of Hinduism.

The Theosophical creed and its objectives according to Leadbeater and Mrs. Besant are briefly as follows:

It is claimed that Theosophy is the meeting place of all religions. It puts death as a recurring incident in an endless life opening the gateway to a fuller and more radiant existence. There are no heaven and hell; these have been characterized as figments of Theological imagination. According to the laws of *Karma* man is reborn to make further progress. Man will never be reborn an animal and a retrograde step is not possible. Since God is unknowable, there is no prayer or God-worship in Theosophy. The Theosophical Society is divided at present into two main branches, the Esoteric School of Leadbeater and the School of Mrs. Besant,

which has come for an all out defence of Hinduism, including its superstitions. One of the constructive achievements of the Society has been the unveiling of many oriental books through translation into various European languages and the consequent popularization of the Hindu religion and culture. And by its broadsides against Christianity and Christian missionaries, it has given to Hinduism a protective shield against the vigorous onslaught of the Christian missionary propaganda.

Gadadhar Chatterjee, who came to be known as Ramakrishna Paramhansa was born in 1834 in a poor Brahmin family of the Hugli district. He showed, since his boyhood, a keen interest in religious books and stories. Having lost his father at the age of seventeen, he came to Calcutta and became attached to a Kali temple near that town as a priest and became an ardent worshipper of the deity whom he regarded as the mother of the Universe, and his mother as well. His devotion deepened to such an extent that he would often fall into ecstatic fits and would implore the image, as a child implores the mother, to show him the truth. Believing that God can be seen by his devoted worshippers, he lived for the next twelve years in wilderness, praying and practising mortification of the flesh. He learnt the *yogic* form of physical and mental discipline from a Sanyasi and Shankara's monastic philosophy from a Brahmin. He took the monastic vow of abandoning the pleasures of the world and assumed the new name of Ramakrishna Paramhansa. He vowed next to attain the Vaishnava ideal of divine love by wearing a female attire and imagining himself as Radha. By 1871, he thought he had attained his goal. His abandoned wife joined him but he refused to take her as wife. She, out of her free will, became his disciple and devoted worshipper and lived in the temple. Ramakrishna then

tried to shed his caste-consciousness by working as scavenger, cleaning nightsoil from the receptacles of the temple and eating the forsaken food of the dole-eaters usually of the lower castes. He then lived with a Muslim holy man practising the tenets of Islam. It is said by his disciples that he even saw Jesus Christ in a dream and for three days he spoke of nothing but Jesus. He began to think that all religions are true and they are merely different paths leading to the same goal. Keshab Chandra Sen of the Brahmo Samaj, who met him often in the temple, was deeply influenced by his teachings. Keshab Chandra made him known to educated men of Calcutta who began to visit him. Among them was Swami Dayanand Sarasvati of the Arya Samaj. For seven years (1879-1886) Ramakrishna imparted his teachings verbally and wrote nothing since his knowledge even of Bengali was too poor for the purpose. His disciples collected his utterances which have been printed in Bengali. The best account in English based upon these collections was published by Max Muller. Ramakrishna died on 15 March, 1886, while in trance from which he did not regain consciousness.

Ramakrishna has been deified by his disciples. He spoke of himself sometimes as servant of humanity and sometimes as the incarnation of God. According to P. C. Majumdar, he believed in an impersonal God and all things including human beings as His manifestations. Everything that happens is caused by Him. He worshipped all deities as manifestations of the impersonal Supreme Being. Of these he held Kali to be the chief. Narendranath Datta (who assumed the ascetic title of Vivekananda) was one of Ramakrishna's most prominent disciples. He was born in 1862. He had received English education as a student of a Missionary College and was a graduate of the Calcutta University. Before his joining the rank of Ramakrishna's disciples, he was

a member of the Brahmo Samaj. After Ramakrishna's death he spent six years, traveling in different areas including Tibet where he studied Buddhism. He came back in 1892 and toured extensively in the north and south-west India. He was then chosen to represent Hinduism in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago. There he created an excellent impression as an exponent of his faith through his eloquence and picturesque dress. He stayed for sometime in America founding Vedanta Societies in various places and converting a few people. He established two monasteries, one at Belur, near Calcutta, and the other at Mayavati in Almora. Since then the order has rendered considerable social service through its missions.

He defended all that was associated with the Hindu civilization and characterized all criticism of it as erroneous. Even idolatry he considered a healthy form of worship and worth preservation. He believed that Hinduism had a great future as the teacher of spiritual truth to the rest of the world. He condemned the West and its civilization as being grossly material. It was mainly through his teaching that the common belief that India was spiritual and the West was materialistic became popular among the Hindus of the subcontinent.

CHAPTER XVI

DEOBAND AND NADWAH

Dar-ul-'Ulum Deoband

SHAH WALIULLAH'S work was carried on after him by his sons and their pupils. His eldest son, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, became a leading figure in the intellectual and literary life of the first half of the nineteenth century. Two of his pupils, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Maulana Isma'il Shahid, were killed in the Battle of Balakot in 1831. Maulana 'Abdul Hayy, Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Mufti Sadr-ud-din, Maulana Mamluk 'Ali and a few others devoted themselves to spreading education and imparting instruction on the lines laid down by Shah Waliullah. In accordance with the tradition that he had left behind, all these scholars took an active interest in reforming the lives of the Muslims and giving them a lead in pursuing the ideas of Islam.

Maulana Mamluk 'Ali, an important pupil of Maulana Rashid-ud-din,¹ joined the staff of Delhi College and became a prominent figure in the academic circles of that city. A number of students used to come to Delhi from his native town of Nanauta in Saharanpur district to study under him. One of these, Maulana Muhammad Qasim,² became the founder of the Dar-ul-'Ulum of

¹ *Tuzkirah i Ulama i Hind*, p. 63.

² Among other students who came from the same region were Maulana Rashid Ahmad of Ganguh, Maulana Muhammad Mazhar, Maulana Muhammad Ahsan, Maulana Zulfiqar 'Ali, and Maulana Muhammad Munir.

Maulana Muhammad Qasim, Rashid Ahmad and Muhammad Munir were disciples of Haji Shah Imdadullah and fought along with him in the War of Independence. See, Gilani, *Maulana Manazir Ahsan Sawanih Qasimi* (Delhi, 1375 A.H.), I, 127.

Deoband.¹

In 1867, Haji 'Abid Husain, a *sufi* of Deoband, thought of starting a *madrasah* in a small mosque of that town. He was encouraged by Maulawi Mahtab 'Ali and the foundation ceremony of the *maktab* was performed on 30 May, 1867, by Maulana Muhammad Qasim.² The first student who joined the new *maktab* was Mahmud-ul-Hasan who later became famous as an active worker in the cause of freedom. 'Abid Husain worked hard and was able to collect some money; by the end of the first year, the *maktab* had 78 students a considerable number of them being those who had come from distant places. Gradually the *maktab* became a *madrasah*. Maulana Muhammad Ya'qub, son of Maulana Mamluk 'Ali, resigned his post of a Sub-Deputy Inspector of schools and joined the *madrasah* as its head on a small salary of Rs. 15/- per mensem. The *madrasah* made rapid progress; in 1874 it had to be shifted to a bigger mosque which also was found to be inadequate after some time.

Maulana Muhammad Qasim secured a plot of land outside the town of Deoband. In 1876 the foundation of the new building of the Dar-ul-'Ulum was laid. Maulana Ahmad 'Ali of Saharanpur laid the first brick; he was followed by Maulana Muhammad Qasim, Rashid Ahmad, 'Abid Husain and Muhammad Mazhar. Henceforth Maulana Muhammad Qasim became the real builder of the Dar-ul-'Ulum.

In the post-1857 period the need of a big *dar-ul-'ulum* had become apparent. Muslim education was deprived of State encouragement; an active campaign of Christian missionary effort was developing into a serious threat

¹ Deoband is a small town in the district of Saharanpur (India); it has become famous as the centre of an educational and religio-political Movement. It has played a vital role in the long struggle for freedom in the subcontinent.

² Rizwi, Syed Mahbub, *Tarikh i Deoband*, p. 82. Maulana Muhammad Ya'qub composed a chronogram *Ashraf i 'Imarat* which yields 1293, the *hijrah* year in which construction work was undertaken.

to Islam in India and, lastly, the Western educational system, which had the patronage of the Government, had completely ignored Islamic learning. The builders of the Dar-ul-'Ulum were fully conscious of the need of guarding it against the infiltration of Government influence through grants-in-aid or donations. It was for this reason that Maulana Muhammad Qasim observed that Government aid and donations from the rich would be harmful to the Dar-ul-'Ulum.¹ This deliberate decision had far-reaching consequences. To meet the expenses of the institution subscriptions were collected from comparatively poor people, who gave money without any hope of earning fame as patrons of learning; equally important was the fact that contacts with the common people would give the venture the status of a movement. The workers of the Dar-ul-'Ulum who went about collecting subscriptions were really popularising the cause of Muslim religious education. This movement, however, had a political context as well. The atmosphere in the subcontinent in those days was not congenial for a purely political movement; therefore, the Dar-ul-'Ulum was to provide a facade for political work as well.

Unlike other oriental institutions of the period the management of the Dar-ul-'Ulum was in the hands of a managing body and the chief executive, called a *Muhtamim*, was bound by the decisions of the majority. This departure from the old tradition in Muslim schools, which were hitherto run under the patronage of an individual or a family proved highly advantageous. It gave stability to the institution and introduced an element of democracy in its administration. Maulana Muhammad Qasim had also established the tradition of seeking advice from all visitors, if they were in sympathy with the Dar-ul-'Ulum and were men of sound judgement and

¹ Gilani, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

learning. In those days when newspapers and public meetings were rare, this policy of consulting visitors coming from different places, proved to be an effective source of popularising the institution and widening the circle of its sympathizers.

There were three great centres of learning in northern Hind-Pakistan at the time—Firangi Mahal (Lucknow), Khayrabad and Delhi. They had the same syllabus—the *Dars i Nizami*; however, each of them laid emphasis on different branches of learning. The Firangi Mahal had specialized in *fiqh* and *usul-fiqh*, the Khayrabad school laid emphasis on the study of the rationalistic sciences, while in Delhi, *Qur'an* and *hadith* had priority over other studies. Maulana Muhammad Qasim and his colleagues followed the Delhi tradition; subsequently, however, some features of the Firangi Mahal and Khayrabad schools were also adopted in order to maintain a balance between the rationalistic and traditional studies. In Deoband the entire syllabus¹ was spread over a period of nine years,² medicine was taught as a subsidiary subject to those who were interested in it, calligraphy was also added because it helped the alumni of the Dar-ul-'Ulum in earning a respectable livelihood. Besides this, arrangements were made for giving training in some craft such as book-binding, tailoring, shoe-making and handloom textiles. Special arrangements were made for giving the students practice in the art of speaking and writing, both in Arabic and Urdu. For this purpose a society of students, Jami'at-ut-Tulaba, was created.

With the increasing popularity of the institution the volume of inquiries and demands for *fatwas*³ became

¹ Maulana Muhammad Qasim was conscious of the importance of Western sciences and the study of English which was gradually attaining the status of an official language. Unfortunately, however, his desire could not be fulfilled for some reasons. See, Gilani, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 283-86.

² Rizwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-09.

³ A *fatwa* is a ruling by one jurist or more on a problem of law or theology.

large and it was considered necessary that a separate *dar-ul-ifta* should be attached to the Dar-ul-'Ulum. Scholars who were distinguished for proficiency in *fiqh* were put in charge of the Dar-ul-Ifta. Mufti 'Aziz-ur-Rahman held this position for a number of years. The Dar-ul-Ifta built up a great prestige for itself within a short time.

Since the establishment of the Company's authority the Christian missionaries had considerably intensified their activities. In fact, they had assumed threatening proportions and were one of the important causes of the War of Independence.¹ After 1857, the attitude of the Government was positively revengeful towards the Muslims,² the missionaries received encouragement and patronage from State authorities. Syed Ahmed's failure to persuade the authorities not to hand over Muslim orphans belonging to famine-stricken families and looked after by well-to-do Muslims indicates the ruthless attitude of the European officers in the decades following the War of Independence. The persecuted Muslim community had no means of defence other than challenging the attacks of the missionaries on Islam and its Prophet. These religious controversies did not remain confined to pamphleteering only; they often took the form of open disputations in public gatherings. In 1875 an important *munazarah*, as these disputations were called, was arranged by a Hindu *zamindar* to please the Collector of Shahjahanpur at the suggestion of a missionary who was Headmaster in the local Mission School. Maulana Muhammad Qasim represented the Muslims and is stated to have returned full of sorrow, because he had seen there that the Christians and Hindus had joined hands to oppose the Muslims. He was parti-

¹ *Risalah Asbab i Baghawat i Hind*, p. 110.

² The Jami' Masjid of Delhi was seized by the Government and was being used as a military camp for British soldiers. It was released in 1862 on the payment of two lakhs of rupees by a Muslim philanthropist, Shaikh Ilahi Bakhsh of Meerut. See, Nizami, Hasan, *Ghalib Ka Roznamcha* (Delhi, 1921), p. 39.

cularly affected by this combination because he was fundamentally a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity; he was grieved at the attitude of the Hindus, but as his biographer explains he gave greater importance to the Christian onslaught and hoped that the Hindus could be persuaded not to join in the attack upon Islam.¹

In course of time, however, the Arya Samajists adopted an attitude towards the Muslims which was so hostile that even Maulana Muhammad Qasim had to change his views. The later years of his life were devoted to meeting the challenge of the Arya Samajists. A separate department was opened in Deoband where training was given for missionary work. Some well-known scholars who devoted their lives to this task, for instance, Maulana Sanaullah of Amritsar, received their education and training in Deoband.

The main object of Maulana Muhammad Qasim was to make Deoband the centre of a movement for continuing the mission of Shah Waliullah. This could best be achieved by opening schools all over the subcontinent where education was to be given on the lines of Deoband; he hoped that the students of the new *madrasahs* would be inspired by the same ideals as the mother institution. Some of the *madrasahs* founded on these lines developed into flourishing institutions; they are in reality the offshoots of the Deoband Movement and have played a significant role in the growth of Muslim education during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries.

In Saharanpur Maulawi Sa'adat 'Ali laid the foundation of a *madrasah* which later came to be called Mazahir-ul-'Ulum after the name of its distinguished Principal, Maulana Muhammad Mazhar. Maulana Rashid Ahmad of Gangoh was the patron of this *madrasah*. In Moradabad a *madrasah* was founded and attached to the mosque

¹ Gilani, *op. cit.*, II, 456-58.

known as Shahi Masjid. The foundation of this *madrasah* was laid by Maulana Muhammad Qasim. In Thana Bhawan a branch school of Deoband was set up. Maulana Muhammad Ahsan, a distinguished scholar, was on the staff of Bareilly College; he founded a *madrasah* in that city which was named Misbah-ut-Tahzib, later changed into Misbah-ul-'Uloom. A parallel institution was set up by Maulawi Naqi 'Ali Khan who did not agree with the Deoband school of thought on certain questions.¹ The *madrasah* developed into a famous institution in the time of Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan who was a great scholar and wielded considerable influence on a section of the Muslims. In course of time it became the centre of a movement which claims a rival position to that of Deoband.² One of his companions, Maulawi Na'im-ud-din, founded a *madrasah* on the same lines in Moradabad; both these *madrasahs* were called by the name of Madrasah Ahl i Sunnat wal Jama'at. Another well-known institution which supported the stand of the Bareilly school was Madrasah i Qadriyah of Badayun, which made great progress during the principalship of Maulana 'Abdul Qadir.³ A smaller institution, Isha'at-ul-'Uloom, was founded in Bareilly by a scholar of Deoband, Maulawi Muhammad Yasin. In Amroha, in the district of Moradabad, another *madrasah* was founded. It was closed for a time but was revived in 1883 by Maulawi Nadir Shah Khan and Ahmad Hasan.⁴

Deoband, in course of time, attained an international status and students came to it from different countries of the Muslim world besides the most distant places in the subcontinent. The schools which were founded by

¹ Badayuni, Maulana Hafiz Bakhsh, *Tarikh-ul-Juhhal* (Lucknow, 1874).

² For the life and activities of Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan see, Rizwi, Zafar-ud-din, *Hayat i A'la-hazrat* (Karachi, 1955).

³ See, *Tazkirah i 'Ulama i Hind*, p. 127.

⁴ Abbasi, Mahmud Ahmad, *Tarikh i Amroha*, I, pp. 142-43.

the scholars of Deoband and which were inspired by the same ideals as the mother institution tried to maintain contacts with it in different ways. They invited the teachers of Deoband for their annual examinations and thus, in an indirect manner, the Dar-ul-'Ulum attained some characteristics of an affiliating university. Some students of these institutions started coming to Deoband for advanced studies. Thus the main ideas and objectives of the Deoband school spread far and wide over the different parts of the subcontinent and even other Muslim countries.

Among the social and moral reforms on which Deoband laid emphasis were widow-marriage, women's rights of inheritance, and stoppage of ceremonies on occasions of marriages and festivals which were repugnant to the spirit of Islam. Some of these practices had become deep-rooted in the life of the Muslims; they spent lavishly on them and had to borrow large sums of money in order to fulfil the misguided demands of the existing social order. Attention had been drawn to the evil consequences of these practices by Shah Waliullah and his sons; following in their footsteps the founders of Deoband also took upon themselves the responsibility of eradicating practices which, they thought, militated against the law and spirit of Islam. On certain questions the differences between the followers of the Deoband school and other '*ulama* became acute; they were all *Sunnīs* but in matters of detail they did not agree with one another. The controversies, in the hands of some narrow-minded '*ulama*, assumed wide proportions and ultimately doctrinal differences developed into bitterness and hostility, which quite naturally became a great obstacle in the path of social and moral reform.

Deoband also undertook the publication of literature for the dissemination of religious information. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan published a translation of the *Qur'an*

in idiomatic Urdu; Maulana 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi wrote his *Tafsir i Haqqani*, and a number of books on various topics were written by Maulana Ashraf 'Ali of Thanah Bhawan. There were other writers also whose works became popular. In this manner Urdu was enriched by some useful religious literature. The Dar-ul-'Ulum persuaded men of affluence to print and publish books on various branches of religious studies and send a few copies of each publication as a gift to Deoband; in course of time a large number of printing presses were set up in different towns and cities, and thousands of books were printed. The books received in Deoband as gifts now form a huge collection and have been and are being utilized by numerous students. An indirect result of this activity was the expansion of the printing industry which absorbed large numbers of Muslims.

The Dar-ul- 'Ulum helped the growth and popularity of Urdu, which was the medium of instruction there. Students coming from those parts of the subcontinent where Urdu was not the mother-tongue returned home with a good knowledge of Urdu. They popularized a common language in their respective homelands.

Deoband was in fact an offshoot of the Waliullahi Movement; its builders and early organizers belonged to that school. Among these Shah 'Abdul Ghani¹ who had migrated to Hijaz and Haji Imdad-ullah² deserve to be specifically mentioned. After the death of Maulana Muhammad Qasim, his friend, Maulawi Rashid Ahmad,³ who, like him, was a disciple of Haji Imdad-ullah, became the chief patron of Deoband; he stayed at Gangoh and lectured on *hadith* there, but he did every thing possible to keep himself in touch with the Dar-ul-'Ulum.

¹ For his life see, Mian, Muhammad, *'Ulama i Haqq*, p. 82.

² *Maktubat i Imdadiyah* (Lucknow, 1317 A.H.).

³ He died in 1905.

Maulana Muhammad Ya'qub of Nanauta was the first Principal of Dar-ul-'Ulum and held that office until his death in 1886. He was succeeded by Sayyid Ahmad Dehlawi, who left Deoband for Bhopal in 1890. The next Principal was Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan who was the first student to be enrolled in the *Madrasah* and who later became a prominent political worker. Among his distinguished pupils were Mufti Kifayatullah of Delhi, Maulawi Ashraf 'Ali of Thana Bhawan, and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani. After completing the course of studies at Deoband Maulana Ashraf 'Ali joined the staff of the Madrasah Faiz i 'Am, Kanpur, and remained there for about fourteen years. On returning from there he settled down in the *khanqah* of his *pir*, Haji Imdadullah. He spent most of his time in writing books on Islam. Some of his works have gained popularity and have exerted a deep influence. In politics Maulawi Ashraf 'Ali was not in favour of supporting the Indian National Congress, his sympathies were with the Muslim League.

Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani spent most of his time at Deoband where he taught *hadith*. He participated in the struggle for Pakistan and became one of the most distinguished fighters in the cause. He emerged after the Partition as the leading theologian in Pakistan and left the impress of his thought on the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. He died in 1950 at Bahawalpur and was buried at Karachi.

Nadwat-ul-'Ulama

The political and cultural dominance of the European civilization had become an established fact in the beginning of the eighteenth century; the political might of the European nations was then considered to be the best evidence of their superiority in civilization. In the subcontinent a strong and powerful

government had been set up by a Western nation and the people were obliged to take cognizance of its power. Some British officers were zealous missionaries in the beginning: even when the Government began to profess secularism, missionary effort was encouraged in many ways. Besides, the Western advance in natural sciences was affecting the religious beliefs of the people. As a natural reaction a number of movements were launched in different parts of the subcontinent, which aimed at strengthening the faith of the Muslim populace by enlightening them about their own spiritual and cultural heritage and demonstrating the evils of the inroads of an alien philosophy. One of the most significant of these movements was that of Nadwat-ul-'Ulama. It attempted to bridge the gulf between the old and new ideas. Such a movement had a great appeal both for the 'ulama of the old school and new class of Western oriental Muslims which was moving up.

It started with a Conference held on 22, 23 and 24 April, 1894, at the Madrasah i Faiz i 'Am, Kanpur. It brought on one platform the leading 'ulama of every school of thought. Besides the *Hanafi* 'ulama, Maulawi Ibrahim Arawi and Maulawi Muhammad Husain Batalawi from among the *Ahl i hadith*, and Maulawi Ghulam-ul-Hasnain from among the *Shi'ah mujtahids* participated in the session. The President was the great scholar, Mufti Lutfullah, of Aligarh, who commanded the respect of all sections of the participants.¹ Maulana Sulayman Nadwi, the most distinguished scholar of the Nadwah, has well summarized the problems facing the Conference. He says, "Thoughtful Muslims were perturbed at the onrush of revolutionary trends and catastrophic disasters. The old system of the *madrasahs* and *maktabs* was breaking down; Muslim

¹ Sherwani, Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, *Ustaz-ul-'Ulama* (Aligarh), pp. 42-43.

boys were being attracted to English schools and colleges; Christianity had been brought to the forefront through the influence of the Government; a network of missionary activities had spread everywhere; their orphanages had been established at every place; disputations between the (representatives of the) Christians and Muslims had become common; pamphlets were being published by both the camps; and modern European ideas were rushing in like a flood." He adds that the 'ulama were engrossed in the petty controversies over matters of no significance and were being estranged from one another in the process. The methods of instruction in the old Muslim institutions had grown antiquated and were outdated. The founders of the Nadwah set themselves the task of finding remedies for these difficulties. The leader of the Movement, on whom fell the exclusive responsibility of planning the new institution was Maulana Shibli Nu'mani. The Nadwah was uppermost in his thoughts and he worked zealously in its cause. As early as 1892 he had feelingly criticized in his *Safarnamah* the old system of education followed in the subcontinent of Hind-Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt ; he had expressed himself already on the inadequacy of the method of instruction at al-Azhar. His views played a part in the reform of al-Azhar. Seven years after his travels a movement for reform at Jami' Azhar was started. A number of articles were published in the *al-Manar* by its learned editor, 'Allamah Sayyid Rashid Riza, who mentioned Maulana Shibli along with Shaikh Ahmad Jan Ausi and Shaikh Shinqeti of Morocco.¹

The Nadwah, like Deoband and other Muslim educational institutions, has its links with the Movement of Shah Waliullah through Maulana Buzurg 'Ali who

¹ *Al-Bashir*, Etawah, 10 December, 1899.

was a leading scholar of Marehra and had studied under Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the maternal grandson of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. Maulana Buzurg 'Ali had spent some years in teaching at the *madrasahs* of Agra and Calcutta and then accepted a munsifship; as such he was posted at Aligarh. After sometime he resigned this post and accepted the office of *Qazi-ul-Quzat* in the State of Tonk. He died in 1262 A.H.¹ He earned some renown by the publication of some literature countering the attacks of Christian missionaries against Islam. One of his pupils was Mufti 'Inayat Ahmad of Kakori. In the beginning he had studied with Shah Muhammad Ishaq; subsequently he came to Aligarh to Buzurg 'Ali and was appointed a *Munsif*. He had founded the Madrasah Faiz i 'Am at Kanpur in 1271; two years later he left for *hajj* after appointing his pupils, Maulana Lutfullah and others, as his successors. He died in a shipwreck on his way to Jaddah.² Besides the *Tarikh i Habib i Ilah* he wrote *'Ilm-us-Sighah*, a work on Arabic grammar

The Madrasah Faiz i 'Am developed into a great institution ; Maulana Lutfullah returned to Aligarh in 1285 A. H. after having worked there for about seven years ; here he remained continuing his work as a teacher till his death 27 years later.³ Another great scholar who was among the main founders of the Nadwah was Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman of Ganj-Moradabad. He was a pupil of Shah Muhammad Ishaq and a disciple of Shah Muhammad Afaq Mujaddidi. During the last decades of the thirteenth and the earlier ones of the fourteenth century of the *Hijrah* era Maulana Fazl-ur-

¹ Nadwi, S. Sulayman, *Hayat i Shibli*, p. 299.

² Ahmad, Mufti 'Inayat, *Tarikh i Habib i Ilah*, p. 15. His other work *'Ilm-us-Sighah* has also been published.

³ Maulana Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali, the first Nazim of Nadwah, Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Sherwani, Maulawi Wahid-uz-Zaman, Maulawi Pir Mehr 'Ali Shah, *Sajjadah Nashin* of Golrah (Rawalpindi), Maulawi Lutf-ur-Rahman of Burdwan were among the well-known pupils of Maulana Lutfullah; all of them played an important role in the foundation and early development of Nadwah.

Rahman was the central figure in the spiritual life of the subcontinent and most of the founders and patrons of the Nadwah were his disciples.

The increasing reputation and popularity of the Nadwah made it an object of suspicion for the British authorities, and under the pressure of Macdonald, the Lieutenant-Governor of U. P., some of the members disassociated themselves from the Nadwah. In spite of these difficulties and some internal differences, the Nadwah continued to grow gradually. The campus of the Nadwah came to have a college, two hostels, a spacious mosque, a guest-house and other buildings. It has built up an excellent library, to which several private collections of great value were donated. In 1908 Mushir Husain Qidwai succeeded in persuading the Government to change its attitude ; it agreed to give a monthly grant-in-aid of Rs. 500. During the Non-co-operation Movement the Nadwah refused to receive the grant ; subsequently, however, it was restored by the Government.

In 1908, the managers of the Nadwah decided to publish a journal—*al-Nadwah*. It had a short life, but for eight intermittent years it rendered valuable service to the cause of education and learning. The first editors of the new organ were Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Khan and Maulana Shibli. Among its contributors were well-known writers, like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi. In 1905, Maulana Abul Kalam was appointed its joint editor and in fact it was here that he built up his reputation as a writer. Subsequently Sayyid Sulayman and Maulana ‘Abd-us-Salam also acted as its editors. The *al-Nadwah* enabled the ‘*ulama* to become acquainted with new trends of thought and current problems ; those who had received modern education could study the achievements of Islam in the earlier centuries. It propagated the importance

of Islamic studies and Arabic in the subcontinent.

The Nadwah has earned for itself a name in the academic world through its sister institution, the Dar-ul-Musannifin, Azamgarh, which has many publications of merit to its credit. Indeed it was in the field of research that the institution really made its mark. Significant changes were brought about in the contents of instruction and new disciplines were introduced; in spite of this Nadwah did not succeed in its primary object, because it tended to grow more and more conservative and thus failed to assimilate as much of Western knowledge as was necessary; in the older disciplines it did not prove equal to Deoband.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF HINDU NATIONALISM

THE Muslim Empires in Hind-Pakistan tried to win the confidence and affection of the local population from the very beginning; they succeeded to a remarkable degree. There are Hindu sentiments on record which speak with great enthusiasm about the blessings of Muslim rule. The early British writers on India were both surprised and dismayed at the fact that the Hindu historians not only displayed no ill-will towards the Muslim Rulers, but had even praised them. The National Archives of India at Delhi contain quite a number of petitions from Hindus addressed to the officers of the East India Company in which the petitioners state vociferously that they were better off under the Mughuls. When the immediate subordinates of Raja Man Singh pointed out to him during his campaign in Bengal that the Muslims were not so devoted to the prosecution of the campaign as the Raja was, he exclaimed, "The Empire belongs to us !" It would, however, be incorrect to think that there was no resentment in any section of the Hindu population regarding the loss of their sovereignty. Hindu fanaticism did break out on some occasions. These outbreaks were, however, mostly spasmodic. Bad feelings were sometimes excited by war and there are many instances of persecution of the Muslims by Hindus, whenever they found themselves in a position to do so.

The Hindu opposition, however, began to gain momentum with the rise of the Marathas; Shivaji himself claimed to fight against the *mellechhas* by which

he meant Muslims. Though his greed for plunder did not differentiate between Hindus and non-Hindus, yet he set himself up as the champion of the Hindu Faith. Some of the later Hindu writers have tried to idolize Shivaji as the founder of Hindu nationalism; this obviously is an extreme view. But even those who feel shy of glorifying his depredations in Hindu States, such as the acquisition of Javli, which "was the result of deliberate murder and organized treachery on the part of Shivaji",¹ have given him the credit of having "sought to make religion a vital force in the uplifting of the Maratha nation and having always extended his patronage to Hindu religion and learning."² However, Shivaji had to be circumspect. He had to deal with the powerful Mughul Government and a strong Emperor. The Maratha revolt was suppressed. In 1702, 'Alamgir I was in a position to write: "Our whole energy was devoted to the conquest of the Deccan which was our most important objective. Thank God, we have achieved it."³ Shivaji's son and successor, Shambhaji, had been captured and executed and the latter's son Shahu, had been made a prisoner. Shivaji's "Swarajya"⁴ lasted only for less than a decade (1680-89); the idea, however, had far-reaching consequences. It was taken up by another family in circumstances far more favourable. In 1719 the Marathas led by their Peshwa, Balaji, were brought to Delhi by Husain 'Ali; with their help the Sayyid Brothers deposed Farrukh-Siyar. This was a great blunder on the part of the Sayyid Brothers. The Marathas must have been struck by the conditions prevailing at the Court and noted the process of dege-

¹ Sarkar, J. N., *Shivaji and his Times* (Fifth Edition, 1952), p. 43.

² Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India* (Second Edition, 1953), p. 522.

³ Letter to Nusrat Jang, as quoted in Faruki, Zahir-ud-din, *Aurangzib and his Times*, p. 576.

⁴ The territory which Shivaji claimed to govern as distinct from the area which he plundered.

neration through which the Empire was passing. The weakness of the rulers and the mutual quarrels of the leading groups of courtiers were bearing fruit. To an adventurous outsider intervention in the affairs of the Court offered a bigger reward than mere plunder or stipulated sums of money for mercenary services. The result of the direct contact of the Marathas with the politics at the Court was the bold, almost revolutionary, change in the outlook and policy of the Peshwa. Baji Rao I, the Second Peshwa, openly talked of the ideal of *Hindu-pad-padshahi* which the earlier Marathas had not even dreamt of.

The Marathas, in spite of the pious hopes of the Peshwas, could not have possibly established a Hindu Empire, because the traditions of loot on which their power had been built up, militated against the foundation of a stable polity. Nevertheless, the idea was too captivating for the Hindus not to have influenced their outlook. It dealt a deadly blow to the traditions of tolerance established by the Mughul Empire, which was now so weak and divided that it was not in a position to uphold its liberal principles of Government. The ideal of a Hindu Empire soon found its way into the innermost recesses of Hindu heart. As a corollary the Hindus began to think in terms of dissociating their political and economic interests from those of the Muslims. When they found an opportunity they sought alliances elsewhere.

By the middle of the eighteenth century we notice the Hindu *seths* entering into a conspiracy with foreigners against their Muslim Nawab in Bengal. Siraj-ud-Daulah's fall and the establishment of British ascendancy over one of the richest parts of the subcontinent was highly significant. It was not only the defeat of a Viceroy of the Mughul Government brought about by a traitor who had become a tool in the hands of a foreign power;

the greater importance of the Battle of Plassey was that it acquainted the foreigners with the possibilities and advantages of using influential Hindus against Muslim Rulers and Governors. The hopes of the establishment of a Hindu Empire under the aegis of the Marathas were frustrated by their defeat at Panipat (1761), but the evil born of Maratha policy survived and prospered under the patronage and for the benefit of a new power. The British were thus encouraged in the foundation of their policy from the very outset on the principle of *divide et impera*. This naturally created a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, which kept on growing wider with the expansion of the Company's dominions.

In the post-Panipat period we find the Marathas struggling hard to recover their lost power and prestige. But they never succeeded in achieving this object, although their influence at one time extended over a large part of the subcontinent. Their polity never freed itself from traditions of plunder. Sindhia and Holkar were powerful chiefs, but even they could not rise above free-booting. It is, therefore, not surprising that minor communities like the Sikhs and the Jats were encouraged by the Maratha example to follow in their footsteps. Their depredations created resentment in the minds of the Muslims; this could not but injure the feelings of good-will which had subsisted before. The Muslims were forced to organise themselves for defence which, under the circumstances, meant suppression of lawlessness.

The traditions of co-operation between the Hindus and the Muslims gradually weakened; each community began to think in terms of its own advantage. The most convincing evidence of this change in the outlook of the Hindus is demonstrated in the activities and achievements of Raja Rammohun Roy. He had received

his education under the then prevailing Muslim educational system. He was an admirer of Muslim thought, and was particularly influenced by *sufi* ideas. The study of the *Qur'an* had created in him an aversion for idolatry and "throughout his subsequent life, Rammohun Roy never entirely shook off these early Mohamedan influences."¹ In his private life his habits were more akin to those of a Muslim nobleman than a Hindu raja; he wore Muslim dress and his meals, though served in English fashion, mainly consisted of well-known Muslim dishes. But neither his admiration for Muslim thought and learning, nor his adoption of Muslim culture, nor even his conviction that under Muslim Rule "the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans"² made him immune from the growing influence of Hindu separatism. When he started his career of reform he had the Hindus alone in his mind. Doctrinally speaking his views on religion were cosmopolitan, but in actual practice he wanted to carry them back to the early sources of Hinduism. It has been rightly said that he "tried to demonstrate that his views were in accordance with the old and true scriptures of the Hindus, and that modern deviations from them are due to superstitions of a later age without any moral or religious sanction behind them."³ All his efforts were directed at the preservation and reform of Hinduism. He did not stir himself to serve his Muslim compatriots in any sphere. This tendency to ignore the Muslims which became such a strong element in Hindu nationalism is fully demonstrated by his work.

The culturally Moslemized Rammohun was thus one of the founders of modern Hindu nationalism. Gifted

¹ Sastri, Pandit Siva Nath, "Centenary Publicity Booklet" No. 1, June 1933, p. 9.

² For his ideas about Muslim Rule in India see, *The English Works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy* (Edited by J. C. Ghose, Calcutta, 1901), II, 312-13.

³ Majumdar and others, *op. cit.*, p. 812.

with a sharp intellect, polished by the educational training available at that time, he was the first great Hindu reformer of modern India. He was anxious to see that his people took the fullest advantage of the opportunities presented by the changing conditions. To achieve this object it was necessary to bring about drastic changes in Hindu life and outlook. It was, therefore, indispensable not only to reform religion and society but also to change the system of education.

The introduction of Western education in course of time became the greatest of the forces that have contributed to the building up of modern India. In the beginning the missionaries exhibited great enthusiasm because they "saw in the introduction of western education an unparalleled opportunity of extending the Kingdom of Christ."¹ Subsequently, influenced by Macaulay's forceful arguments, Bentinck's Government laid down its policy in favour of Western education. A dangerous tendency in the newly-risen class of English educated Hindus was their anxiety to bring themselves closer to the foreign rulers, leaving the Muslims alone. The British Government also based their policy on the assumption that the Muslims were their chief adversaries because it was from their hands that political power had to be snatched. The establishment of British Rule was merely a change of masters for the Hindus; for the Muslims it was the loss of supremacy.

"Is it any subject for wonder", Bailey pertinently poses the question regarding the Muslim attitude, "that they have held aloof from a system which, however good in itself, was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interest and at variance with all their social traditions?"² To officers who took inspiration from persons like Macaulay such ideas obviously could not

¹ Chitrol, Sir Valentine, *India* (Fourth Impression, 1930), p. 72.

² Quoted by Hunter in *The Indian Muslims* (Reprint of the Third Edition Calcutta, 1945), pp. 142-43

have occurred. The Muslims as the former ruling nation had to be suppressed and this could best be done by encouraging the Hindus in all walks of life and alienating them from the Muslims.

The small and influential section of the English-educated Hindus responded fully and were responsible for strengthening and disseminating the idea of Hindu separatism which became the corner-stone of modern Hindu nationalism. It was inspired by the British and from the beginning endeavoured to create a gulf between the two major peoples living in the subcontinent. Among the overwhelming mass of the Hindus as well, the new ideas were not popular, because they had as yet remained unaffected by the forces of Western civilization and the changes that were coming in its wake. To them most of the new reforms were an encroachment on their age-long customs and practices ; even their religion could not escape the attacks of the forces of 'enlightenment'. "Hindu science, learning, laws and religion", Trotter explains, "were so mixed up and welded together, that a rent made in one part of the fabric seemed inevitably fatal to the whole. Every good thing, in short, done or attempted with best intention by a handful of Farangi reformers, was sure to be misunderstood or viewed with jealous misgivings by all whose spiritual training or worldly interests arrayed them on the side of things as they were".¹

For the Muslims it was a period of great calamities. They were increasingly being ousted from political life and thrown out of employment in territories which were being annexed by the Company. In regions where they had reigned supreme only a quarter of a century earlier, they were now degraded to a position of complete obscurity. Even their religion seemed to be in danger ; some of the Government officers and the

Trotter L. J., *India under Victoria* (London, 1886), I, 162.

Christian missions were alike making frontal attacks on Islam.

The War of Independence (1857-59) had far-reaching effects and brought in its wake constitutional and political changes of a revolutionary character. In his well-known brochure on the causes of the "Indian Mutiny" Sir Syed Ahmed had laid great emphasis on the fact that the Indians were not allowed any share in the Government of their country and the Legislative Councils.¹ His arguments deeply influenced the opinion of the press and politicians in England. In 1861 some Indian notables were nominated as Members of the Legislative Council. This was the beginning of the system of representation of Indians in the Councils of the British Indian Empire; the methods of representation, however, created fresh problems and disagreements.

The introduction and rapid development of the railways, posts and telegraph made it possible for the people of the various parts of the subcontinent to come into closer and more frequent contacts. Far more important were the effects of the rapidly increasing popularity of the English language and Western education. English was now becoming the language of communication between the people whose mother tongues were different. Newspapers and books published in that language could easily go to the most distant parts of the subcontinent. As the Hindus had taken advantage of the new education it tended to create greater integration amongst them on an All India basis than had subsisted before. Another factor of considerable significance was the impact of Western education on Indian thought. In the earlier stages higher education was largely dominated by missionary effort. It is not, therefore, surprising that religious and social reform received the first attention of the new

¹ *Risalah Asbab i Baghawat i Hind*, pp. 9-10.

generations. But readers and admirers of liberal thinkers and writers could not long remain uninfluenced by the ideas of Western nationalism.

The ingredients of nationalism in the West were mostly the existence of a common culture, a common history and sometimes a common religion. With the Hindus, therefore, nationalism came to be emotionally based upon the traditions and history of Hinduism. The idea of pluralism in nationalism was too complex for the average man to understand and accept.

This tendency was crystallized in the rise of the Arya Samaj, which was fundamentally a revivalist movement. It based its creed on the principle of 'Back to the Vedas' and "claimed that these alone were the revealed scriptures and that they contained mystical references to all knowledge, even to the discoveries of modern science."¹ According to the author of the *History of the Indian Congress*, "The Arya Samaj in the north-west founded by the venerable Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and the Theosophical movement from the south furnished the necessary corrective to the spirit of heterodoxy and even heresy which the Western learning brought with it. Both of them were intensely nationalist movements; only the Arya Samaj movement was aggressive in its patriotic zeal. It thus developed a virile manhood in the nation which was the synthesis of what was best in its heredity, and what is best in its environment."² The Arya Samaj aimed at complete extirpation of Islam³ and Christianity in India. To its founder India

¹ C.H.I., VI, 540.

² Sitaramayya, P., *History of the Indian National Congress* (Bombay, 1946), p. 13.

³ It may be mentioned that Dayanand incorporated into his system some of the basic concepts of Islam, modifying them, of course, according to his requirements. The condemnation of untouchability, image worship and child marriage and the introduction of widow remarriage, the formula of *gaitri mantra* (counterpart of the Muslim *kallimah*), the common way of greeting among all sections of Hindus, congregational prayers, conversions to Hinduism, and, above all, the doctrine of the unity of God may be mentioned as illustrations.

was the land of Hinduism alone, and therefore, Indians and Hindus were synonymous terms. "The sections in the Satyarth Prakash which deal with the criticism of Islam and Christianity are evidently intended to be the literature of such extirpation; i.e. to be means of rooting out all such foreign superstitions from the hearts of the sons of India. For extreme unfairness, for inability to state the position of opponents without caricature, and for general crudeness, these sections can hardly be matched in the whole literature of religious controversy."¹ To what extent the Movement succeeded in Hinduising the people of the subcontinent as far as religion and social life were concerned is beyond the scope of this chapter. There can be little doubt, however, that its influence on the political outlook of the Hindus was profound. The growth and development of an alliance between the Hindus and the British has been mentioned earlier. It would explain the co-operation extended by Englishmen to the political aspirations of the generation which laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

Allan Octavin Hume (1829-1912) had joined the Indian Civil Service in 1849; he retired after a distinguished career lasting over thirty years. Towards the end of Lytton's viceroyalty he came into possession of documentary evidence to the effect that political discontent was going underground and that a conspiracy was being laid for "a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crime, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of bankers and looting of bazaars, acts really of lawlessness which by a due coalescence of forces might any day develop into a National Revolt." Hume, to quote the official historian of the Indian National Congress, "thereupon, resolved to open a safety valve for this unrest and the

¹ Dr. Griswold in *Indian Evangelical Review*, January, 1892, quoted in Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

Congress was such an outlet.”¹ It may not look very charitable to think so; but it cannot be doubted that the founder of the Congress was as much in sympathy, if not more, with the British domination of India as with the aspirations of its people. Through a letter (1 March, 1883) he addressed an appeal to the graduates of the Calcutta University in which he said that “if only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the further development will be comparatively easy.” He also advised them to give up complaining about the preference given to Britishers in matters of appointment, “for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to the public weal, that patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are then rightly are these preferred to you, rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers.”² It was in the same year that the Ilbert Bill controversy was raging in Bengal. On this issue the agitation in the vernacular press became so alarming that Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces, “observed that the tone of the native press in that province was daily growing more vicious and insulting and might end by ‘leavening the mass’ to a greater degree than was fancied.”³ The Government policy of yielding to the virulent agitation of the European community and deflecting from its declared purpose left deep, almost indelible, marks on the minds of the educated classes. Non-official bodies, like the Indian Association of Calcutta, the Mahajana Sabha of Madras and the Bombay Association, became more active. Nevertheless, the credit of taking the initiative goes to Hume. He met Dufferin, who had only recently assumed office as Viceroy, and sought his opinion

¹ Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *C.H.I.*, VI, 548.

on the question. Dufferin, to quote the words of W.C. Bonnerjee, "said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the function which Her Majesty's opposition did in England . . . and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in Native circles, it would be very desirable in their interest as well as the interest of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved, and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the Local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds."¹ Hume discussed these points with leading Indians without letting any one know that they were the views of the Viceroy, for that was the instruction given by Dufferin. Ultimately a decision was taken in March 1885 that a Conference of the Indian National Union should be held in the last week of December. According to the circular issued for the Conference the delegates would be comprised of the "leading politicians well acquainted with the English language", and its objects were : "(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year." The sponsors of the Conference entertained the hope that it "will form the germ of native Parliament." The first Session of the Indian National Congress accordingly met on 28 December, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Poona. W.C. Bonnerjee presided over the session.

In its early stages the Indian National Congress and its leaders flourished and worked under British patronage and had no hesitation in publicly admitting

¹ Quoted in Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

the benefits of British Rule. Subramania Aiyar speaking on the first resolution tried to sum up these advantages "in one remarkable fact, that for the first time in the history of the Indian population there is to be held the phenomenon of national unity among them, of a sense of national existence."¹ The President of the second Session added to the list of these benefits. After declaring that neither in "the most glorious days of Hindu rule", nor "in the days of Akbar" one could imagine the possibility of such a meeting; he added, "It is under the civilising rule of the Queen and the people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, freely allowed to speak our minds without the least fear or hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule, and under British rule only."² With a body so obliging in outlook and expression of views the British Government could hardly quarrel. In fact it suited their interest to keep the Congress under their control and at one time it was suggested that Reay, the Governor of Bombay, should be asked to preside; but Dufferin decided that officials could attend as friendly observers only.

What the sponsors of the Congress movement meant by the "phenomenon of national unity" and the "sense of national existence" could not but have been clear enough to the British statesmen. But it would have been impolitic on their part to have emphasized or even pointed out the main weakness of the Movement. In the first Session there were only two Muslims among the seventy-two delegates who attended; in the second the number rose to 33 in a gathering of 440. The reaction of the Muslims being highly discouraging it was decided to have a Muslim President for the third Session

¹ Lovett, Sir Verney, *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (Second Ed., 1920), p. 36.

² Chirol, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

held at Madras. By this time, however, Syed Ahmed Khan, who had been closely watching its activities and studying its demands for two years, had become convinced that the best course for the Muslims was to remain dissociated from the Congress. He gave public expression to his views in a large gathering at Lucknow exactly at the time when the third Session of the Congress was meeting at Madras (December 1887). The arguments of Syed Ahmed and the lead given by him to the Muslims became the anchor-sheet of their policy *vis-a-vis* the Congress Movement. Since then the Muslims as a nation have mostly remained aloof from its activities. Syed Ahmed Khan had realized what the Hindu leaders, though they must have felt it, too, were not prepared to accept, that the ideal of a united Indian nationalism was difficult to achieve in face of the racial and communal divisions in the population of the subcontinent.

One of the earliest demands made by the Congress was in connection with the reforms of the Councils. In its second Session it passed a resolution asking for a 50 % elected strength on the basis of indirect election. This resolution was repeated in 1887 and again in 1889. Bradlaugh introduced a Home Rule Bill for India in the British Parliament at the request of the Congress. Of course, it could not go through, but the Congress continued to press for the demand. The result was the Act of 1892, "which increased the number of additional members of the Indian legislature to sixteen, and permitted the making of regulations under which indirect election could be introduced, through the nomination by the governor general of persons chosen in various ways."¹ The element of election was thus introduced in an indirect and diluted form; by no stretch of imagination, however, could it be considered a step towards the recognition of the principle of establishing a parliamentary Gover-

¹ Keith, A.B., *A Constitutional History of India* (Second Edition, 1937), p. 177.

nment in the subcontinent. In fact, this had been made absolutely clear by Curzon who, as Under-Secretary of State, had to pilot the Bill in the Commons.¹

The first stage in the history of the Congress is not only marked by a clarification of Muslim attitude towards its programme and activities, but is also characterized by a rift among the Hindu leaders themselves. They were now definitely divided into two groups which have often been referred to as Moderates and Extremists, the former believing in agitation within the limits of law and constitutional reform, and the latter seeking to intimidate the Government into a quick surrender by acts of violence and terrorism. It is to be noted that the Extremists did not only denounce British Rule as unqualified tyranny but were also blatantly communal in outlook. To them the Muslims were as unclean (*melechhas*) as the foreigners. In religious and social reform, too, their attitude was reactionary, as is indicated by their agitation against the Age of Consent Act (1891). This legislation prohibited cohabitation before a wife reached the age of twelve: the agitators declared that their religion was in danger. Calcutta was the main centre of this agitation and the editor, the manager and printer of the *Bangabasi* were prosecuted for sedition.

The chief exponent of reactionary Hinduism was a Maratha, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was born at Ratnagari in 1856. At the age of sixteen he passed the Matriculation Examination; he joined the Deccan College, Poona, as a resident student. He was not interested in the study of text-books but devoted most of his time to reading authors like Hegel, Kant, Spencer, Mill, Voltaire and Rousseau. He was also interested in physical exercise. After taking his B.A., he joined law. On one occasion he said "I propose to devote my life

¹ C.H.I., VI. 545.

to the task of rousing my people, I think a knowledge of law will be more useful than a University degree in literature or science." In the beginning he devoted himself to education ; in partnership with some friends, he opened the new English School in 1880. At the same time he decided to start two papers, the Marathi *Kesari*, and the English *Mahratta*. The former aimed at catering for the needs of "the masses of ignorant population who have generally no idea of what passes around them and who therefore must be given the knowledge of such topics as concerned their everyday life by writings on literary, social, political, moral and economic subjects". The *Mahratta* was meant for "the more advanced portion of the community, who require to be provided with material for thinking intelligently on the important topics of the day."¹ The *Kesari* soon became one of the most popular of vernacular papers.

Tilak's interest in journalism did not diminish, at least for some time, his enthusiasm for educational work. In 1884, he became one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society. The Society was patronised by the Government; Marquis of Ripon became its patron. When the Society established a college in Poona, it was decided that the institution should be named after Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay. Tilak was one of the teachers of the College and taught mathematics. Later G. K. Gokhale joined the Society as a life member. This was important because he and Tilak "became rivals in everything they did. Gokhale stood for moderation in politics and an advanced outlook on social reform. Tilak took the opposite view."² The controversy continued for several years, and all efforts to bridge the gulf between them ended in failure. The majority of the members supported Gokhale; hence

¹ Thakmankar, D.V., *Lokmanya Tilak* (London, 1956), p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Tilak dissociated himself by resigning his office in 1890. Tilak was undoubtedly sorry to leave the Society because, he stated in his letter of resignation, "in fact I am giving up now my life's ideal, but the thought that only by separating myself from it shall I serve it best is my consolation."¹

In 1889, he was elected to the Subjects Committee of the Congress. Ever since then his popularity as a politician continued to grow until he became one of the topmost Hindu leaders. His paper, the *Kesari*, which, in course of time, earned a notoriety for exciting the Hindu youth to commit violence both against the British and the Muslims, was one of the bitterest opponents of the Age of Consent Act. The agitation against the slaughter of cows started by Dayanand in 1882 had already been receiving its unqualified support.

As time proceeded Tilak's conception of nationalism grew more communalistic and anti-Muslim. He organized two revivalist movements, the Ganesh Festival and the Shivaji Cult. He believed that "The Prarthna Samaj of Bombay and the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta were two glaring examples of . . . psychological surrender of Hindu leaders to the outward form of the Christian way of worship". Tilak was also of the opinion that the adoption of English manners and way of living was unworthy of the Hindus. He thought that this imitation of the West was a sign of degradation and devoted his life to dissuading the Hindus from indulging in it. He held that unless the people knew and respected their own history and culture they would not be able to emancipate themselves from political and social bondage. Tilak had in his mind all this time the Hindus whom he identified with the people of India; to him the Muslims were foreigners.

¹ *Ibid.*

He wanted to create a martial spirit among the Hindus; with this object he sought to organize a Festival which would provide an excuse for mass training of Hindus. He compared it to the Olympian games but in reality there was no parallel. He hit on the idea of making Ganesh, the elephant-god, the central figure of the Festival. Ganesh had been worshipped by the Hindus for centuries with mostly domestic ceremonies and festivities. Tilak now organised the Festival as a big public celebration lasting for ten days. There were processions in which thousands of people participated shouting militant slogans. The emotions of the people were aroused to a frenzy of dangerous proportion resulting from time to time in outbreak of violence directed against the Muslims.

Simultaneously, Tilak launched a movement to popularize what came to be known as the Shivaji Cult. Shivaji's tomb was repaired, his memory was revived, and the acts of treachery and fraud committed by him against the Muslims were extolled and presented as ideals to be followed by the Hindu youth. Two articles were published in the *Kesari* in June 1897, which clearly indicate the basic trends of his communal outlook. The first alleged that Shivaji had established the *Swarajya* and had since his death gone into a slumber. But now he was awakened because the foreigner was taking away the wealth of the country and its people were in the grip of famine and disease. Shivaji had 'protected' the English, and the latter instead of repaying the debt were maltreating the people living in his country. The other article presented even a more grotesque interpretation of the facts of history. Shivaji had treacherously murdered Afzal Khan "for the good of others. If thieves enter our home and we have not sufficient strength to drive them out, we should, without hesitation, shut them up and burn them alive. God has not con-

ferred on mlencchas the grant inscribed on copper plate of the kingdom of Hindostan. . . . Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well. Get out of the Penal Code, enter into the extremely high atmosphere of the Bhagavat-Gita, and then consider the actions of great men".¹ The conditions in Maharashtra were so favourable for this sort of propaganda that Tilak's appeals did not take long to go deep into the heart of the Maratha youth. In 1896 Bombay had been struck by famine; this was subsequently followed by bubonic plague. For the ravages of these calamities it was easy to place the blame on the shoulders of the foreign Government. The unrest provoked by the drastic measures of the Government was fomented into an agitation by the columns of the *Kesari* and it was in this connection that Tilak had told the Hindu youth in the above articles that "with benevolent intention he (Shivaji) murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others." A week later W. C. Rand, the Plague Commissioner, and another officer, Lieutenant Ayerst, on plague duty, were murdered by two Chitpavan Brahmins in Poona. The murderers were found to have belonged to the 'Society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu religion.' Tilak was prosecuted for exciting disaffection and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. The Moderates did not have the courage or perhaps the will to condemn the cult of violence which the Extremists were preaching. No doubt a resolution demanding the release of Tilak could not be carried at the Amraoti Session of the Congress (1897), yet as the author of *The History of the Indian National Congress* says, "What was lost in the Congress was gained in the speeches of the President Sir Sankaran Nair, and of Surendra Nath Banerjea."² The latter said, "For Mr. Tilak my heart is full of

¹ Quoted in *C. H.I.*, VI. 550.

² Vol. I. p. 95.

sympathy. My feelings go forth to him in his prison-house. A nation is in tears." These tributes greatly added to the already growing popularity of Tilak as a leader of the Hindus.

Tilak's incarceration marks the close of the first stage in the growth of the extreme wing of Hindu nationalism. His reactionary views on religious and social questions and his irresponsible advocacy of terrorism stood against his acceptance as a leader by all the sections of the Hindus. His exhortations in favour of the Shivaji Cult could hardly have a good response in parts of the subcontinent where "memories still survived of the devastations caused by Maratha raids."¹ Nevertheless, Tilak's methods had taught the other Provinces how valuable a service the vernacular press could render in popularizing a cause and how effectively religious appeals could be utilized for purposes of political propaganda. Bengal became the next centre of the extremist activities of Hindu nationalism under the leadership of Bepin Chandra Pal, Arabindo Ghose and B. C. Chatterjee. The *Yuganter*—edited by Bhupendra Nath Dutt, brother of the better known Swami Vivekananda, played the same role in Bengal as *Kesari* had done in Maharashtra, and the cult of the goddess Kali provided the religious basis for these activities. Again in Bengal local patriotism took the place of Tilak's ideal of reviving the memories of a defunct ruling dynasty. Curzon's policy and methods provided material for the rapid growth of the movement. Even the Moderates became active in their opposition to the Government. "His resumption of control over the Calcutta municipality", it has been rightly stated, "offended all who had taken part in local administration,

¹ Thompson and Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 547.

his University Act annoyed the educated classes and the teaching profession. But the greatest challenge to the Hindus was the division of Bengal into two provinces.”¹

¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVIII

SYED AHMED KHAN

THE greatest Muslim reformer and statesman of the nineteenth century, Syed Ahmed Khan,¹ was born on 17 October, 1817, in the mansion of Khwajah Farid, his maternal grandfather, who had been appointed *Wazir* and given the title of *Dabir-ud-Daulah Amin-ul-Mulk Muslih Jang* by Akbar Shah II. Khwajah Farid was reputed for his learning and moral qualities. He had worked as Superintendent of the Calcutta Madrasah and led a political mission to Iran during Wellesley's governor-generalship. As *Wazir* of the Mughul Emperor he is stated to have adopted measures to economise the Imperial expenditure and pay off the debts.² This made him unpopular in Palace circles, and he decided to leave Delhi. A few years later the Emperor called him back from Calcutta and restored him to his office; but he was again obliged to resign, remaining in retirement till his death in 1828.

Syed Ahmed Khan's ancestors had migrated to the subcontinent in the reign of 'Alamgir I. His grandfather Sayyid Hadi held a *mansab* and the title of *Jawwad 'Ali Khan* in the Court of 'Alamgir II. Shah 'Alam added *Jawwad-ud-Daulah* to his titles. Sayyid Hadi's son, Mir Muttaqi, had been close to Akbar Shah since the days of his princehood, but being a man of care-

¹ The name of the new born child was suggested by Shah Ghulam 'Ali, the spiritual guide of his father.

² The copper ceiling of the *Diwan-i-'Am*, which had been removed by the Maratha chief, Bhao, under the impression that it was solid gold, had been thrown away as mere waste. Khwajah Farid got it melted and utilized the metal for the minting of copper coins.

free nature he had not accepted any office or title. However, he had access to the private sittings of the Emperor in the *Khwabgah*, where, says Syed Ahmed Khan, "I had several times accompanied my father." Mir Muttaqi was an expert swimmer and had attained proficiency in archery. He was the instructor of several Princes in these arts.¹

Syed Ahmed Khan's mother, 'Aziz-un-Nisa, took greater interest in his education and upbringing than his father. She belonged to a distinguished and noble family and had very definite and clear views about the advantages of a good education. She imposed a rigid discipline on her son and, as Syed Ahmed Khan has himself admitted, her supervision counted for much in the formation of his character.² A number of incidents have been recorded on his authority which reveal the type of character that she wanted her son to develop. On slapping an old servant, for instance, the eleven year old Syed Ahmed was turned out of his house and had to pass three days and nights with an aunt. He was pardoned and readmitted to the house only after apologising to the servant. Another interesting incident may also be related. When Syed Ahmed Khan was a *Sadr Amin*, a person whom he had placed

¹ Mir Muttaqi was a man of strong character; he had very intimate relations with one of Akbar Shah's brothers, Mirza Shams-ud-din, and used to visit him almost as frequently as he went to the Emperor. The latter did not like this and asked him to give up his visits to Shams-ud-din. Muttaqi said to the Emperor, "Does your Majesty doubt my sincerity?" "Not in the least," said the Emperor smilingly. "Why then should I earn disrepute by changing my ways" was Muttaqi's reply. Never after this did the Emperor take exception to his visits to Shams-ud-din. Muttaqi was the only person permitted to sit in the presence of the Emperor.

² In reply to a question about his childhood he is stated to have recited the following couplet:

طفلی و دامان مادر خوشی بهشتی بوده است
چون به پاے خود روان گشتم سرگردان قدیم

(Childhood tied to the apron strings of the mother is heaven indeed; when we started moving on our own legs we were faced with worries).

under obligation started sending anonymous letters against him to his officers. Syed Ahmed Khan came to know of this and wanted to take his revenge by reporting the matter to the Magistrate. But his mother stopped him and said, "The best course for you is to forgive him, but if you are bent on taking revenge then leave it to the Ruler who punishes every evil. It is foolish to approach the weak officers of this world for getting yourself avenged on your opponents."

The early years of Syed Ahmed Khan's life were spent in the atmosphere of the family of a Mughul noble. Khwajah Farid's *haweli* was a big mansion having spacious grounds where his grandson played with other children of the family. There was nothing in the young Syed Ahmed's habits or behaviour to suggest that he was different from the other boys. What, however, distinguished him from them was his extraordinarily good physique.¹ As a boy he learnt swimming and archery, which were the favourite sports of the well-to-do sections of the people in those days. Swimming exercises were held in the Jumna below the steps of the beautiful Zinat-ul-Masajid. Mir Muttaqi being a reputed expert in swimming, it is not surprising that his son acquired proficiency in the art.

Syed Ahmed Khan received his education under the old system. He learnt to read the *Qur'an* under a woman teacher at his house. After this he was put in the charge of Maulawi Hamid-ud-din, the first of his private tutors. Having completed a course in Persian and Arabic languages, he took to the study of mathematics which was a favourite discipline with his mother's family. Later, he became interested in medicine and studied some of the well-known books on that science such as *al-Qanun* and *Mu'alajat i Sadidi*.

¹ The incident is recorded that when his maternal grandfather saw him for the first time he said, "a Jat is born in our family."

But he soon gave it up without completing the full course. At the age of eighteen or nineteen his career as a student came to an end, but he continued his studies privately. He had begun to take a keen interest in the literary gatherings and cultural activities of the city. It was about this time that he came into contact with the eminent poets, *Ghalib* and *Sahbai*.¹

The death of his father in 1838 left the family in difficulties; the young Syed Ahmed Khan was obliged at the early age of twenty-one to look for a career and decided to enter the service of the East India Company. He requested his uncle, Maulawi Khalilullah, who was *Sadr Amin* in Delhi, to accept him as an apprentice in his *kutchery*. A few months later he was appointed *Sarishtadar* in the same court. In February 1838 he was given the post of *Naib-Munshi* in the Divisional Commissioner's office at Agra. Here he had ample opportunities of studying the laws pertaining to revenue administration. He soon acquired so much proficiency in that branch of law that he prepared a digest which, as he had hoped, entitled him to a munsifship.

But before he could be appointed, the rules of recruitment were changed and candidates were required to pass an examination. He, therefore, decided to appear at the prescribed examination. About the same time he published the digest that he had prepared jointly with his brother, Sayyid Muhammad, under the title *Intikhab-ul-Akhawain*, it soon became popular with the candidates for munsifship. After passing the examination he did not have to wait long for an appointment. He took charge as *Munsif* of Mainpuri on 24 December, 1841. In the following month (10 January, 1842) he was transferred to Fathpur-Sikri where he

¹ Maulawi Imam Bakhsh Saibai was one of the famous scholars and poets of Delhi. He was shot dead by British soldiers in the Revolution of 1857 along with many other residents of the city. He was a professor of Persian in the Delhi College.

remained for several years, living in the apartments known as the *Khwabgah* of Akbar.

Syed Ahmed Khan's transfer from Fathpur-Sikri to Delhi in 1846 was a turning point in his life. Politically stagnant, Delhi had developed a vigorous cultural life. Syed Ahmed could not remain unaffected. Although twenty-eight years old he resumed his studies in literature, *fiqh*, *hadith* and *Qur'an*, and took lesson from some of the distinguished teachers of the time, such as Maulawi Faiz-ul-Hasan and Maulana Makhsusullha. It was during these years that he published *Asar-us-Sanadid*, revived the *Sayyid-ul-Akbar* which had originally been started by his brother, and wrote several pamphlets on diverse topics. In 1855 he received promotion and was sent to Bijnor as *Sadr Amin*.

Two years later began the War of Independence which brought in its wake indescribable horrors and calamities. The news of the outbreak of the War reached Bijnor on 12 May, 1857. At this time there were about twenty Europeans in the town. Syed Ahmed Khan decided to protect their lives at any cost. He used to guard the house of the Collector of the district, Shakespear, where all the European residents had taken shelter. The revolutionaries led by Nawab Mahmud Khan threatened to overpower the party.

At this critical juncture Syed Ahmed Khan acted boldly and took upon himself the responsibility of negotiating peace between Mahmud Khan and Shakespear. He succeeded in his efforts and the Europeans were allowed to leave Bijnor in peace. Soon after this he also left Bijnor and went to Basi-Kotla, about fourteen miles from the town. Mahmud Khan, however, recalled him to Bijnor and asked him to join the struggle for freedom. Syed Ahmed Khan had a long but fruitless discussion with the Nawab. He tried to impress upon him that it was not practicable to uproot the British;

on the contrary it would be more realistic to continue to support them. But Mahmud Khan's love for freedom was too strong for Syed Ahmed Khan's arguments; hence the only result of their meeting and discussion was that their relations became embittered.¹ As in many other places the main problem of the revolutionaries of Bijnor was the treachery of the Hindu *zamindars*. They rose against the Revolutionary Government and started plundering the defenceless villages. Mahmud Khan had to send detachments in different directions to suppress their brigandage. He was thus left with inadequate forces at the headquarters. "Taking advantage of this circumstance", writes Malleeson, "the younger of the chaudhris of Haldaur, combining with the chaudhris of Bijnor, suddenly attacked the Nawab on the morning of the 6th of August and drove him in precipitous flight to Najibabad. The immediate result was not altogether satisfactory. It is true that the town was saved ; but the public and private property outside it fell into the hands of the rebels who had joined the chaudhris simply with the hope of plunder, and who were altogether beyond control."² On receiving news of the reverse suffered by the revolutionaries, Cracroft Wilson, Special Commissioner, Meerut, wrote to Syed Ahmed Khan and Rahmat Khan to assume charge of the district, which they did on 16 August.³ But only a week later Mahmud Khan marched on Bijnor and recaptured it. Syed Ahmed Khan and Rahmat Khan took to flight and reached Haldaur. Here, too, they could not stay for long, because it also fell to the Nawab's forces. They again managed to make their escape and took the road to Moradabad. The route was full of dangers and before Syed Ahmed Khan

¹ Syed Ahmed calls the Nawab *Na-Mahmud* (not good) in his *Sarkashi Zila Bijnaur*.

² Kaye and Maleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1899), vi, 110.

³ Graham, *op. cit.*, p, 25.

could reach Bachhraon, he was attacked by robbers more than once. At Bachhraon he stayed for a few days with his friend, Maulawi Mahmud 'Alam, to recoup his health which had been adversely affected by fatigue and illness. It was from here that he sent reports of the happenings at Bijnor to the British officers. From Bachhraon he went to Meerut, reaching the place with only a torn shirt on his body and six pices in his pocket. He stayed here for over five months because he had to wait until he recovered from the effects of ill health.

In September, 1857, Syed Ahmed Khan paid a short visit to Delhi where, his house had been looted and some members of his family murdered by the East India Company's soldiers.¹ On his arrival in the capital he found that his family had left the city and taken shelter in the suburb of Nizam-ud-din. But his mother and her sister were still there, hiding in the stables. He managed to bring them to Meerut with some difficulty. The hardships and the shock of the events at Delhi had mortally affected his mother's health; soon after their arrival in Meerut she breathed her last. In February, 1858, Shakespear was ordered to proceed to Roorkee where arrangements were to be made for the formation of the Rohilkhand Column. To march into Rohilkhand the British forces entered the district of Bijnor. They met with resistance at the hands of the *Mujahids* in battles fought at Amsot, Najibabad and Nagina. In the first of these battles Syed Ahmed Khan was also present.

Syed Ahmed Khan was transferred to Moradabad in April and promoted to the post of *Sadr-us-Sudur*. In addition to this he was also appointed a member of a special commission to hear objections against con-

¹ Syed Ahmed Khan's uncle, Wahid-ud-'in Khan, and his cousin, Hashim 'Ali Khan, were murdered by the Sikhs. "They were as loyal", writes Graham, "as Syed Ahmed Khan himself but at that dreadful time many innocent men, I grieve to say, suffered for the sins of the guilty" Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

fiscations of the properties of persons who had participated in the War of Independence.¹ The district of Moradabad being one of the main centres of the Movement the British officials were furious against the Muslims. It is difficult to ascertain how far Syed Ahmed Khan succeeded in tempering the harshness of the attitude of his British colleagues. It appears, however, that his success was meagre.

Syed Ahmed Khan's stay in Moradabad constitutes an important epoch in his career. His services during the course of the "Mutiny" had raised him in the estimation of the British Government. He now decided to do all that lay in his power to save the Muslims—at least those who had not participated in the War of Independence—from British retaliation.² Besides this, he resumed his literary activities and started working in the field of education. On 28 July, 1859, he delivered his first important speech in public. The occasion was provided by Queen Victoria's proclamation which had been issued in the previous year. A large public meeting was arranged near the tomb of Shah Bulaqi in Moradabad. The most striking feature of Syed Ahmed Khan's speech was a *Munajat* (prayer) for the deliverance of the Muslims from the hardships and sufferings which they were facing.

About the same time he published three tracts entitled, *Loyal Mohammedans of India*. He felt the need of removing the increasing suspicions of the English about the Muslims who were described in contemporary British periodical literature as the main authors of the

1 The other two members were Europeans, the Commissioner of Rohilkhand and the District Judge of Moradabad.

2 An important case may be mentioned. 'Maulana Alim 'Ali of Moradabad had given refuge to a few European women and children in his house; but he could not save them from the fury of the mob. The Government now wanted to punish the Maulana who had consequently gone into hiding. Syed Ahmed Khan told the Collector of the district that he could produce the Maulana, provided a promise was given that he would not be punished. This undertaking was given and the Maulana was acquitted of all charges.

“Revolt”. Syed Ahmed Khan expected that the Muslims would welcome the publication of the tracts and facilitate his work by providing him with necessary information and funds. But, as Maulana Hali complains, the indifference of the Muslims forced Syed Ahmed Khan to abandon the scheme.¹ The pamphlet on the true significance of the term *Nasara* was also issued about this time.² It was translated into English and sent to the officials of the Government for their information. The signification of this publication was that the use of this traditional term for Christians gave offence to the British rulers and had in some cases been punished even with death.³

In 1860 some districts of the North-Western Provinces were caught in the grip of a severe famine. The Government entrusted Syed Ahmed Khan with the distribution of food to the destitutes in Moradabad. He performed his duties with remarkable efficiency. It is stated that it took his workers only one hour to distribute food among fourteen thousand destitutes. John Strachey who was then Collector of the district was so deeply impressed that he accepted Syed Ahmed Khan's proposals with regard to the disposal of orphans. He suggested that they should be entrusted to respectable Hindus and Muslims instead of being placed in the custody of missionaries

¹ Graham has reproduced lengthy passages for these tracts in Chapter V.

² The origin of the term is *Nazareth* from which comes the word *Nasara* (*Nazarene*). These words had been in use among the Jews and the Muslims for centuries. The British Government thought that it was used by Muslims as a term of contempt. A British official testified, “In my own presence a man was hanged for this offence in Kanpur.” Syed Ahmed Khan stretched the point when he argued that the word meant helper and quoted the following verse:

ولتجدن اربهم مودة تلذيع اموالدين قالوا اللعاري

VI: 82.

³ *Hayat i Jawid*, p. 82.

who, of course, converted them to Christianity. Unfortunately, however, before the famine was brought under control Strachey was transferred. His successor reversed the policy of the Government in respect of the orphans. He called a committee of leading citizens who decided, in order to please the Collector, that all the children who had been given to the Hindus or Muslims should be taken back from them and placed in the hands of Christian missionaries. Syed Ahmed Khan also had to surrender four or five such children who were being looked after by his wife. They left his home crying and weeping bitterly. Syed Ahmed Khan was deeply moved by this incident and began to think of establishing an orphanage. But he gave up the idea, because he had to devote all his attention to the greater task of popularising modern education.

Syed Ahmed was still in Moradabad when his wife died (1869), leaving behind two sons, Hamid and Mahmud, and one daughter. He had been a devoted husband; although he was only 44 years old, he decided not to marry a second time. He had hardly recovered from the effects of the shock when he threw himself heart and soul into educational work.¹ In the following year (1862) he was transferred to Ghazipur, and two years later to Aligarh which was destined to become the seat of his most important activities. In 1867 he was posted as Judge of Small Causes Court at Banaras, where he remained till the time of his retirement. He was still there when in 1869 he decided to go on a visit to England. His decision to undertake this journey in spite of financial difficulties² gives us an index to his determination to push through

¹ For details see the following chapter.

² We have it on the authority of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk that "he sold his library, and had to mortgage his house and bungalow." Maulana Hali adds that he sold the entire stock of his recently published edition of the *Tuzuk i Jahangiri* at the rate of rupee one per copy, although the price originally fixed was Rs. 10/- each. *Hayat*, p. 120.

his scheme of popularising Western education among his people. He was genuinely convinced that his visit to England was necessary because without it he could not obtain first-hand knowledge of the educational system and the cultural, social and political characteristics of English life. He, therefore, allowed no obstacles to stand in his way. Mahmud, the elder son of Syed Ahmed Khan, was awarded a scholarship by the Provincial Government for studies abroad. Syed Ahmed Khan seized the opportunity and decided to accompany him. On 1 April, 1869, he left Banaras, taking along with him both of his sons, one companion and one attendant. Some of the English officers who had seen or heard of Syed Ahmed Khan's services during the "Mutiny" proved of immense help to him during his stay in England. Amongst them his English biographer, Graham, may be specifically mentioned. "I was at home on furlough at the time", he writes, "but was unable to meet them till the end of May 1869, when I ran up to the town and had the pleasure of welcoming them to England His stay in England was made pleasant to him by many people, particularly by Lord Lawrence. . . ."¹ The details of his activities and movements need not be given here, but it would not be out of place to refer to a few incidents which have a bearing on his achievements in later life. No one who has carefully studied the character and outlook of Syed Ahmed Khan would agree with the exaggerated view that on seeing "European civilization in full swing he was overwhelmed with it, dazed like a young child."² However, there can hardly be any doubt that his first-hand contact with Western life made him more firm in his conviction that India's salvation lay in discarding

¹ See, Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

² Smith, W. C., *Modern Islam in India and Pakistan* (Second Edition, 1947). p. 9.

its medieval outlook and taking to new ideas and methods. Hali's remark that "he saw everything, he ignored the defects of Western civilization and picked up its good features" is much nearer the truth. He had decided to write an account of his visit, but he was so severely censured for his appreciation of Western culture and criticism of the shortcomings of his own countrymen that he had to give up the idea. In this he was acting on the Prophet's saying: "Take what is pure and leave what is impure".

He visited Cambridge and studied in detail the working of that famous University. In the College that was later founded by him at Aligarh he tried to introduce some of the features of its residential life. The greatest achievement of Syed Ahmad Khan during his stay in England was the completion of his monumental work, *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*.

On 4 September, 1870, Syed Ahmed Khan, accompanied by his son, Syed Hamid, started on his homeward journey. That his visit bore results which he had in his mind at the time of planning it is incontestable. His successful visit created an impression that it would be of great advantage if the Muslims of the subcontinent could go to England for education and training in large numbers. The news of Syed Ameer 'Ali's departure for England for studies appeared in the organ of the Scientific Society with the comment that Syed Ahmed Khan's visit to England had set up a good example for his countrymen.¹ Syed Ahmed Khan, it seems, had left good impression in England. Maulana Hali refers to an article in the *Homeward Mail* of 26 September, 1870, in which the writer, Sayyid 'Abdullah, makes a statement to that effect on the authority of his personal experience. He says that some responsible Englishmen told him that their opinion of Indians would

¹ Quoted in *Hayat*, p. 130.

have remained poor if they had not met Syed Ahmed Khan.

Syed Ahmed Khan landed at Bombay on 2 October and was able to resume his duties at Banaras by the end of the month. He lost no time in taking necessary steps to implement his schemes for educational and social reform; to educate public opinion he started the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* which rendered useful service in disseminating his ideas and those of his colleagues. Ultimately his colleague, Maulawi Sami'ullah Khan, succeeded in founding a school at Aligarh in May, 1875. Syed Ahmed Khan had now begun to feel that he could not carry on his work as long as he was in Government service. Accordingly he applied for pension which was sanctioned in 1876 ; he could now devote his entire time and energy to public work.

Syed Ahmed Khan's reputation had risen with great rapidity. He had become the recognised leader of the modernists among the Muslims, and the last twenty-five years of his life were spent in popularising modern education among them. The details of his activities in the field of education may be read elsewhere in this volume ; here it may be mentioned that in spite of determined opposition from some conservative quarters he was able to convince a large section of Muslims that in modern education alone lay the remedy of their many ills. At the time of his death in 1898 there were not many prominent Muslims who disagreed with his views. Syed Ahmed Khan was the first person to impress upon the Government the need and importance of admitting the Indians to the Legislative Councils.

Therefore, it was in the fitness of things that in 1878 Syed Ahmed Khan was nominated to the Imperial Council by the new Viceroy, Lytton; two years later he was

¹ They all believed like Syed Ahmed Khan that loyalty and co-operation with the British Government could alone provide necessary atmosphere for the progress of the Muslims in the field of modern education.

re-nominated.¹ Though unable to express himself in English or understand it fully he soon made his mark in the Council. He wrote his speeches in Urdu and had them translated into English. The English version was often read by the Secretary of the Council but sometimes he would write the English version in Urdu characters and read it himself.² During the term of his membership Syed Ahmed Khan presented two bills which were passed and made into law, one relating to vaccination and the other to the revival of the appointment of *Qazis*. Another important proposal of Syed Ahmed Khan was in favour of *Waqf 'Alal-Aulad*, by which property could be converted into a trust and provisions made for one's descendants through it. He studied for this purpose the *Shi'ah* and *Sunni fiqh* and collected other relevant material; then he prepared a learned draft which was published for eliciting public opinion. The need of such a law was evident, because as a result of the policies of the Government the economic condition of the Muslims had steadily deteriorated; besides this a number of Muslim families had lost their properties through the negligence and extravagance of irresponsible owners. The *Waqf* Act as contemplated by Syed Ahmed Khan would have gone a long way to remedy the situation. Opinion on this proposal was sharply divided but he had now become too firm in his views to yield to opposition, however strong, if in his opinion it was injurious to the interests of the Muslims. Some technical difficulties, however, stood in his way and for all his efforts it became imperative to drop the idea of sponsoring the Bill in the Council.³ The

¹ See, *Risalah Asbab i Baghawat i Hind*.

² On his own authority we have it that on one occasion the Viceroy congratulated him for his remarkable speech. Lytton came out of the Council room after the meeting, placed his hand on Syed Ahmed's shoulders and praised his performance. *Hayat*, p. 10.

³ At a later period and in a better atmosphere this law found a place in the Indian Statute Book through the efforts of Maulana Shibli.

most remarkable speech of Syed Ahmed Khan was made on the Ilbert Bill which sought to remove the unfair provision in law that Europeans could not be tried in the courts of Indian Magistrates outside the three Presidency towns. The Government ultimately yielded to a strong and well organized agitation of the European community but Syed Ahmed Khan's speech in support of the Bill is important because it gives us an idea of his strong views on the question of equality of all men before law and the absurdity of racial distinctions. Similarly he boldly expressed his views on the question of representative government; he pointed out in unambiguous terms that in the heterogeneous population of the subcontinent "the system of election, pure and simple, cannot safely be adopted. The large community would totally over-ride the interests of the smaller community."¹

The Government appointed in 1882 an Education Commission with W. W. Hunter as its President. Syed Ahmed Khan did not agree with the procedure adopted by the Commission, and as the President refused to make the changes suggested by him he resigned his membership. On Ripon's special request, however, he agreed to the appointment of his son, Syed Mahmud, as a member. Syed Ahmed Khan had no hesitation in appearing as a witness before the Commission so that the case of Muslims might not go by default. Four years later (1886)² he was nominated a member of the Public Services Commission which was appointed by Dufferin's Government. For his reaction on the recommendation of the Commission we have his own words in a letter addressed to Maulana Hali and quoted by him in *Hayat i Jawid*.³ It appears

¹ "Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India", 1883, quoted in Coupland, *India*, p. 93.

² Maulana Hali gives the date of the appointment of the Commission as 1887. It is not correct, but it has been repeated in some of the modern works as for instance in the *Hayat i Sir Sayyid* by Nur-ur-Rahman published by the *Anjuman Taragqi i Urdu* (Hind).

³ See pp. 211—12.

Syed Ahmed Khan was against any change in the prevailing procedure about the Statutory Civil Service. This was not the opinion of the majority of its members and, therefore, it "advised abolition of the system of filling appointments by means of the statutory civil service which had failed to fulfil the expectations anticipated from it"¹ It may be added that as a result of the action taken by the Government on the recommendations of this Commission the covenanted service came to be known as 'the Civil Service of India'. In appreciation of his services the Government conferred on Syed Ahmed Khan the title of K.C.S.I., in 1888, which was presented by the district authorities in a formal ceremony. In the following year he was awarded *in absentia* LL.D. by the University of Edinburgh.

But the year 1889 in which the reputation of Syed Ahmed Khan had reached its climax also saw the beginning of worries and disappointments which clouded the last years of his life. The first serious trouble arose out of the opposition to his proposal, regarding the constitution of the Board of Trustees of the Mohammedan-Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh. Among those who disagreed with him were some of his dearest colleagues including his great friend and right hand man, Maulawi Sami'ullah Khan. Generally speaking, Syed Ahmed Khan was not too tolerant of the views of those who disagreed with him. Nor was the stand taken by him in this case justified. In the proposals circulated by him a provision had been made for the appointment of his son, Syed Mahmud, as Joint Secretary.² Syed

¹ C.H.I., VI, 367.

² The main actors in bringing about this cleavage between Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulawi Sami'ullah were the European teachers of the College. They did not want that Sami'ullah should succeed Syed Ahmed Khan as Secretary. To forestall this possibility he persuaded him to have Mahmud as Joint Secretary because his succession to the office of Secretary would thus become almost a certainty.

Ahmed Khan took this step because Syed Mahmud was more acceptable to the European staff and Syed Ahmed Khan felt that it was necessary for the well-being of the institution to have their co-operation. He, therefore, reconciled himself to the awkwardness of appointing his own son as Joint Secretary. In insisting on its acceptance he alienated the sympathies and lost the co-operation of a strong and devoted band of workers led by Sami'ullah Khan. Subsequently, Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk tried to bring about a reconciliation between Syed Ahmed and Sami'ullah Khan but it did not bear any fruit because leaders of the dissenting group did not accept the trusteeship of the College.

In 1895 Syed Ahmed Khan had the greatest shock of his public life. About the end of the year it was discovered that his Hindu head clerk, Shyam Behari Lal, had embezzled more than a lakh of rupees belonging to the College funds. Shyam Behari was appointed in 1883, and in course of time he had become one of the most trusted employees of the College. Syed Ahmed Khan had so much confidence in him that he would sign the cheques without looking at their contents and later gave him free access to even the cheque-book. He became so bold that he not only drew the entire funds of the College deposited in the Bengal Bank at Agra, but also presented the Bank with a forged letter of authority for borrowing money on the security of promissory notes amounting to rupees forty-nine thousand. On this account he was able to draw from the Bank a sum of Rs. 42577 before the forgery was detected. He was attacked by paralysis in 1895, and his disability brought his forgeries to the knowledge of Syed Ahmed Khan and other authorities of the College. Criminal cases were filed against him but before the court could decide them he died in the lock-up, probably as a result of suicide.

One can imagine what terrible a shock it must

have been to Syed Ahmed Khan to find such large funds of the College embezzled by a man in whom he had confidence and who worked under his direct supervision. The trustees passed a "vote of full confidence" in Syed Ahmed Khan and declared that he was in no way negligent in his supervision, nor had he put in his head clerk greater confidence than is usual ; but Syed Ahmed Khan took the incident so much to heart that it almost shattered his health. The only relieving feature, according to him was that the embezzlement was revealed in his life. "I thank my God," he wrote to *Hali*, "that his (Shyam Behari's) forgeries and frauds were discovered in my life; otherwise after my death many difficulties would have cropped up and people would have held me responsible for this."¹ Two years later another blow fell on Syed Ahmed Khan. Syed Mahmud, 'the distinguished son of a distinguished father' was attacked by a severe malady in 1897. He lost his balance of mind, which made the last days of his father's life exceedingly unhappy. Syed Ahmed Khan did not betray his anxieties and worries but internally they were eating him up.

In the beginning of 1898 he started keeping abnormally quiet; for hours he would not utter a word to friends who visited him. In reply to a question by Zain-ul-'Abedin Khan about his unusual silence he said, "Now the time is near when I shall have to be permanently silent."² On 24 March he stopped passing urine;

¹ *Hayat*, I, p. 236.

² Maulana Hali tells us that the following verses were on his lips when he was passing the hours of the agony of death:

حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل نعم المولى ونعم النصير • ان الله وملائكته يصلون على النبي
يا ايها الذين آمنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما

medical aid proved ineffective. Two days later his condition became critical. On the morning of 27 March a severe headache further worsened it; he expired the same evening at about ten o'clock in the house of Haji Isma'il Khan where he had shifted ten or twelve days earlier. He was buried in the afternoon of the following day (28 March) in the compound of the College Mosque. He was mourned by a large number of friends and admirers in subcontinent and outside.

It would be of interest to refer briefly to Syed Ahmed Khan's work as an author and a writer. He had developed a literary taste in the early period of his career and maintained it throughout his life. The *Jam i Jam*, the *Intikhab-ul-Akhawain*, and some of his early treatises on religious subjects in which he was keenly interested have already been mentioned. After he was posted in Delhi he devoted himself to advanced studies. In 1846 he translated into Urdu and amplified a manuscript of a treatise written by his maternal grandfather on 'Trigonometry.'¹ His most outstanding work in history, which has contributed greatly to his fame, is an account of the old monuments of Delhi, the *Asar-us-Sanadid*. It was written in 1846. It was a pioneer attempt and involved considerable research and field work. Accompanied by his learned friend, Maulawi Imam Bakhsh Sahbai, he would go to the sites of the ruins and collect relevant material for his book. He used to have their plans and sketches prepared and their inscriptions copied. How careful he was in obtaining correct information is indicated by one of his own statements recorded by Maulana Hali: "Some inscriptions of the *Qutb Minar*", he said, "could not be read (from the base), because they were too high. To read them, a platform was suspended from two wooden bars, on which I would sit

¹ The treatise was entitled, *Jawaid-ul-Afkar fi 'Amal-ul-Farjar*.

and trace out the inscriptions on paper.”¹ This unique work consisting of over 600 pages and containing a description of more than two hundred and seventy monuments was completed by him almost single-handed in a little over a year. A long chapter containing biographical notices of the scholars, *shaikhs*, men of professions, poets etc. of the capital, was added at the end. The first edition was printed in Sayyid-ul-Akhbar Press and published in 1847. A second and considerably amended edition was printed immediately before the War of Independence, but as a result of disturbances its copies were destroyed before it could be published. The book soon attracted the notice of scholars in England and France. In 1861 it was rendered into French by the well-known orientalist, Garcin de Tassy, and, three years later, the Royal Asiatic Society of London recorded their appreciation by making its author an honorary fellow.²

Syed Ahmed Khan had received his education under the old system, and it was not until after the War of Independence that he came into frequent contact with Europeans and Western ideas. In 1848 he published a small treatise—*Qaul i Matin dar Ibtal i Harkat i Zamin*—in which he advocated the medieval belief that the Earth was stationary.³ In the following year he wrote a pamphlet condemning the prevailing *sufi* practices of enrolling disciples. This was given the title of *Kalimat-ul-Haqq* and was followed by two companion treatises entitled, *Rah i Sunnat dar Radd i Bid'at* and *Namiqah dar Bayan i Mas'alah i Tasawwur i Shaikh* in 1850 and

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 45.

² The Secretary of the Society wrote to Syed Ahmed Khan, “In congratulating you on this well-deserved mark of distinction, I trust it may be gratifying to you to know that your research on Indian antiquities are duly appreciated, both in this country and abroad.” Letter of the Secretary, July 20, 1864.

³ Of course in later years he had changed his views in this respect.

1852 respectively. A more useful, though not original, compilation was the *Silsilat-ul-Muluk*, a short biographical dictionary of Indo-Pakistan Rulers. It is in the form of a statement showing the dates of birth, accession and death of the various Rulers and also their burial-places. The history of Bijnor was written in response to a Government circular. Syed Ahmed Khan worked hard on the book and studied original documents for its preparation. However, the manuscript was never published.

It appears that the compilation of the history of Bijnor intensified his interest in historical studies. This is revealed by the fact that he now decided to bring out a properly edited text of Abu'l-Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain i Akbari*. A suggestion to this effect had been made to him while he was posted as a *Munsif* in Delhi. But his preoccupations did not permit him to undertake the work at that time. He took it up, however, as soon as it was possible. He used several manuscripts for determining the text and added explanatory notes and illustrations. The first and third volumes were printed at Delhi in 1856; the second volume was completed and sent to the press later. But before it could be printed the plates were destroyed in the disorders of 1857.¹ The next work published by Syed Ahmed Khan was also on history; this was the *Tarikh i Sarkashi i Bijnaur*, an account of the "mutiny" in that district. It was completed in 1858 and contains a detailed narrative of events from May 1857 to April 1858.

Another important work was his *Asbab i Baghawat i Hind*. It traces the causes of the "revolt" and is a bold and fearless exposition of the factors which were responsible for creating a gulf between the people and their foreign rulers. He laid especial emphasis on two points, namely, the proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 53.

carried on with the support of the Government and the absence of the Indians from the Council. Because of its outspoken criticism the author decided not to publish it in the sub-continent. Of the 500 copies printed, excepting a few, all were sent to England for distribution among the members of Parliament.¹ An English translation by Colvin and Graham was published in 1873. It was also at Moradabad that he completed the work of editing the *Tarikh i Firuz-Shahi* of Zia-ud-din Barani. This was done at the request of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.²

In 1862 Syed Ahmed Khan was transferred to Ghazipur. On arriving there he started working on his commentary of the Bible called *Tab'in-ul-Kalam*. His purpose was to reduce misunderstanding between the Muslims and the Christians which, he knew, was strong and deep-rooted. These prejudices, he thought, could be removed to a great extent if the Muslims knew more about the contents of the Bible. He was fully conscious of the magnitude of the task and the obstacles in his way. "Undeterred by these difficulties, however, in the words of Graham, "he worked at the Commentary for years, until another, and to him more important, task claimed all his energies." As the author expected, his work was severely criticized by the Muslim 'ulama, and, for obvious reasons was not accepted as authoritative by the Christians and Jews. Nevertheless, it was based on extensive research.³ With the same object Syed Ahmed Khan

¹ In the reign of terror that the British Government created after 1857 no Indian could conceive of analysing the causes of the Movement in so straightforward and honest a manner as Syed Ahmed Khan has done. It has been stated that one of his Hindu friends, Shankar Dass, who was *Munsif* in Moradabad advised him not to submit the *Risalah*, lest he might be dubbed a rebel. But unusually bold in the expression of his views as Syed Ahmed Khan was, he did not accept this friendly advice. *Hayat*, p. 73.

² The following manuscripts were used by him:

(1) MS. belonging to the library of the Mughul Emperors.

(2) " " " Henry Elliot.

(3) " " " Edward Thomas.

(4) A MS. obtained from Banaras.

³ Garcin de Tassy referred to it in one of his lectures and expressed surprise at the extensive research and collection of material made by the author for the compilation of this work.

published the *Ahkam i Ta'am i Ahl i Kitab*; in this pamphlet he advocated that it was lawful for the Muslims to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by the Christians and to inter-dine with them. This created a controversy because the Christians did not observe the methods prescribed in the Muslim tradition. In his time the prejudices against the Christians were so strong that Syed Ahmed Khan was dubbed as a 'Christian' on the publication of the pamphlet, which was severely criticized.

In 1870 Syed Ahmed Khan published his well-known book on the life of the Prophet entitled, *Essays on the Life of Mohammad*. He had utilized the opportunity of his visit to England to examine original sources available in the libraries of that country. The idea of writing this book had come to him on reading Muir's *Life of Muhammad*. Of his reactions we can form some idea from his letters to his great friend, Mohsin-ul-Mulk. He wrote to him that Muir's book has "burnt my heart" and "I have now decided that I should write a book on the life of the Holy Prophet, no matter if I spend in this venture all that I have and become destitute." From these letters we learn that he gave most of his time to completing this task. "I have nothing in my mind", he wrote, "except this and have given up meeting people."¹ A serious obstacle in his way was lack of finance. He had run short of funds and the work was still incomplete. He, therefore, requested Mohsin-ul-Mulk to arrange, with the help of Mir Zahir Husain, a loan of one thousand rupees.² Syed Ahmed Khan was motivated in his task by a spirit of devotion. For him the writing of this book was an act of worship;³ "as I have no one to assist

¹ "I am busy day and night", he writes, "with my book on *Sayyid i Mustafa* and have given up all other things. On account of continuous writing my back begins to ache" *Hayat*, II, 116.

² "When I look at my accounts my heart begins to sink. I have yet to complete the book and then it has to be printed and published. Where will the money come from ?" *Ibid*.

³ "If this book is completed I shall consider my visit to London equal in merit to ten *hajjs*. May this be acceptable to God." *Hayat*, II, 118.

me in the task it is proving very exacting." But he was so firm in his determination and considered the task to be so sacred that he continued it in spite of all difficulties. It was at last completed, translated and published in London. On his return he printed the original Urdu version with some additions and notes under the title, *Khutbat i Ahmadiyah*.

The book, as the title shows, is a collection of twelve essays on the life of the Prophet and some important aspects of Islam. They are self-contained studies and are marked by three important characteristics. They are based upon original authorities; the works of non-Muslim authors have been taken into consideration; he has shown tolerance for the teachings of other religions. Syed Ahmed Khan thus made a significant departure from the style and methods adopted by the Christian missionaries and the orthodox Muslim writers of the period. The result was highly fruitful as is revealed by the words of Graham. "At present", he writes, "Mohammedanism is to the mass of the English nation an utterly unknown and bitterly calumniated faith—a sort of religious bogey, just as Bonaparte was a material bogey to our ancestors at the commencement of the present century. It is popularly supposed to be a religion of the sword, and is associated with all that is fanatic, sectarian and narrow-minded. Readers who, like the majority of Englishmen, are still under this hallucination will rise, I venture to assert, with very different ideas from an attentive perusal of Syed Ahmed's Essays. Let them get and read them."¹ The *Essays on the Life of Mohammad* is undoubtedly a masterpiece. Muslim scholars did not agree with him in certain details, but on the whole the book was received well and is still held in respect.

¹ Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

The next important publication of Syed Ahmed Khan was a detailed review on Hunter's well-known book—*Indian Musalmans*. Its main object was to disprove Hunter's theory that the Muslims could not in keeping with the teachings of their religion be loyal subjects of the British Government. He calls Hunter's book "politically a grave, and in minor degree, an historical mistake." It was necessary to remove the impression which it had made on the minds of the people. "I could not. . . in justice to myself and my co-religionists", he writes in conclusion, "have kept silent when such erroneous statements were thrown broadcast over the land. I have striven as much as in me lay to refute the errors published by Dr. Hunter and although my efforts may have been in vain, I feel that I have done my duty." The tense atmosphere created by the "Wahabi Trials", had embittered the minds of the ruling class against the Muslims, and this was proving injurious to the interests of the community. Syed Ahmed Khan's comments on Hunter's work helped in removing misunderstandings to some extent.²

Yet he realized, as he explained on one occasion, that a new commentary of the *Qur'an* on modern lines was needed for those who were receiving Western education. The study of modern philosophy and physical sciences, he thought, tended to shake the beliefs of the educated young men because they found it difficult to reconcile the prevailing religious ideas with the postulates of science. Most of these ideas had found currency because of previous religious writings. He took the stand that the *Qur'an* is the fountain head of Islamic teachings and these, he maintained, did not come into conflict with the laws of Nature. He used the same technique with reference to modern science as the older

¹ "Review ", quoted in Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

² The *Pioneer* and the *Indian Observer* printed articles with favourable remarks about the Review. See, *Hayat*, Part I, 146-47.

schoolmen, the *Mutakallimun*, had used in the context of Greek philosophy. In this way he created a new '*Ilm-ul-Kalam*, Islamic scholastics. There were, however, some serious drawbacks in his approach as well as in his writings on the subject. He was too anxious to reconcile the tenets of Islam with contemporary science and ignored the fact that religion deals with truths which are eternal and metaphysical and, therefore, the ever-changing theories of the physical sciences cannot be the sole criteria for judging religious truths. Another defect was that he was too apologetic; he established a tradition in which the presentation of Islam was unnecessarily defensive. Even a balanced critic like *Hali* was constrained to say : "There are many things in the *tafsir*, on reading which one is surprised that a person of so high an intellect could be satisfied with such unconvincing arguments and commit such gross mistakes."¹ However, having started work on the commentary in 1876 he continued it with remarkable patience in spite of opposition from many quarters. He could not complete his work and had come up to about the middle of the *Qur'an* when he died.²

.It may be noted that besides his efforts at reform in education and political and social life of the Muslims, Syed Ahmed Khan strengthened the foundations of modern Urdu. He popularized Urdu not only as the medium of correspondence among the educated people but also as a language of literary expression. Nearly all his works were written in Urdu and there can be no doubt that his example was followed by many of his contemporaries. The translations undertaken by the Scientific Society encouraged the use of Urdu as a vehicle for scientific knowledge. He introduced a new

¹ *Maqalat i Hali*, Anjuman Taraqqi i Urdu, Pakistan (Karachi, third edition, 1955), p. 225. For actual instances of contradictory explanations see Habib-ur-Rahman Khan's "Review" of *Hayat i Jawid* in *Maqalat i Sherwani* (Sherwani Printing Press, Aligarh, 1946), pp. 48-68.

² Seven volumes of the *tafsir* were printed bringing it up to *Surah i Anbia*.

style which was marked by simplicity and elimination of meaningless artificialities. It would be interesting to read in his own words what the Scientific Society did to modernize Urdu. He writes, "we tried as much as we could to contribute to the development of the Urdu language and literature through our humble papers, and adopted a simple and clear style in expression. We tried to improve the vocabulary and purify the speech as far as our poor knowledge of language permitted. We avoided the use of flowery language which was full of imaginary metaphors and similes and in which sublimity remains confined to words only and which does not impress the mind. Versification which in these days is called rhymed prose has been abandoned. As far as was possible attention was concentrated on the simplicity of language. We tried that all excellence should remain in the essence of the subject, so that whatever is in our heart the same should be the impression created on the minds of others and the same should remain there."¹

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was called upon to remove the wreckage left behind by a bitterly fought war and a long conflict of ideas and interests which preceded it. The Muslims in their dislike of the foreign domination had cultivated a distaste for Western education. To Syed Ahmed Khan belongs the credit of foreseeing the dangerous and far-reaching consequences of this attitude of the Muslims. Bold and courageous by nature he decided to bring about a revolution in the ideas and outlook of the Muslims. His task was difficult but he was fully equipped for it. He worked for bringing about conciliation between the British and the Muslims and to prove that the latter could be as co-operative and useful as other sections of the population. This object, he thought,

¹ *Hayat i Sir Syed Ahmed Khan* (Anjuman Taraqqi i Urdu, Hind, Aligarh), pp. 135-36.

could be better achieved if the Muslims were given Western education on an extensive scale and religious and social prejudices born of ignorance or conservatism were eliminated. Today it seems to be a simple and not very impressive idea. But in the age of Syed Ahmed Khan an average Muslim thought it repugnant to his religious scruples even to eat on the same table with a Westerner. To fight against such strong prejudices Syed Ahmed Khan needed an iron will, a strong sense of conviction, considerable patience and, more than anything else, ceaseless effort. He wrote thousands of pages in the form of books, articles and pamphlets and delivered numerous speeches to guide his people on everything that he thought was important. He met with tremendous opposition, but he faced it with remarkable patience; he was not discouraged by hostile criticism. For nearly half a century he served the cause of the Muslims with such faith and determination that he could see even in his own lifetime the results of his labour. He wanted the Muslims of Hind-Pakistan to turn their back on the past and look to the future. His achievement lies in having shown to them the path of progress and modernism which alone could enable them to live a life worthy of their glorious past and noble traditions. He knew that through constructive efforts the Muslims would be able to recapture their self-respect and independence in course of time; he was no mere loyalist; he was laying the foundations of freedom for his people; in this sense Maulana Mahomed 'Ali was right in calling him the "Arch-Rebel" against the British Government. He was indeed among the first builders of the Muslim Nation in Hind-Pakistan; and undoubtedly the greatest. The structure of which he had laid the foundations was completed by Qaid i Azam.

CHAPTER XIX
THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT
(Educational)

THE Aligarh Movement was primarily an educational venture; it was based on the concept that in education alone lay the solution of all problems facing the Muslims. Before a discussion of the circumstances which led Syed Ahmed Khan to launch his movement it is necessary to examine the attitude of the Muslims towards the educational policy of the East India Company¹ in the decades preceding the War of Independence. Lake's entry into Delhi in 1803 and the consequent transfer of administrative powers from the Marathas to the Company had brought the English into closer contact with the elite of Muslim society. One important result of this contact and the ever-increasing influence of the British was the need of studying English and Western sciences. It was a new problem, and obviously, one which needed careful consideration. Those who had political acumen could easily foresee the far-reaching consequences of the growing popularity of English education. Generally speaking the religious-minded sections were for the new education; but the leading divine of the day, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, declared it lawful for a Muslim to study English.² His ruling was permissive and couched in guarded words. On the whole the Muslim conscience continued to revolt against the idea of admitting the superiority of Western education. The Hindus, on the other hand, had welcomed its introduction under the leadership of Raja Rammohun Roy.

Perhaps the Muslims were not far wrong in their way

¹ Cf. *Hayat*, Part I, p. 86.

² *Fatawa i Azizi*, Part I, p. 186.

of thinking and action. The pioneers of Western education in the sub-continent were mostly missionaries. Though a good teacher, the missionary "did not confine his efforts to the improvement of student's mind alone but strove for what was to him of far greater importance—the reclamation of the latter's soul."¹ Syed Ahmed further informs us that "lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following, 'Who is your God? Who is your Redeemer?' and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief—prizes being given accordingly."² The proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries had begun to bear fruits quite early. Referring to Wilson's work a modern writer expresses his satisfaction thus: "and under this teaching a number of young men, both Hindu and Parsee, passed into the Christian Church."³ In Bengal the progress of missionary work both in education and conversion had been more substantial. Of the English educated Bengalis even those who retained their old faith changed their outlook: they tried to think and speak in English; they imitated the modes and manners of the West. So great was this new orientation that they unreservedly gave loyalty to a foreign Government. They were the most politically conscious community in the large population of the sub-continent, but in actual practice their unstinted co-operation added to the strength and stability of foreign rule. Thus during the War of Independence "*the educated community*"⁴ unreservedly ranged itself on the side of law and order and condemned the rising in unambiguous terms."⁵

¹ Sen, S.N., *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1957), p. 9.

² *The Causes of Indian Revolt*, as reproduced by Graham in *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan* (London, 1885), pp. 42-43.

³ Farquhar, J.N., *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1919), pp. 74-75.

Wilson had founded the college known after his name, in 1835.

⁴ Italics are ours. Obviously the author had the English educated Bengalis in his mind.

⁵ Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

Realizing that it was difficult to conquer the Muslims through educational institutions the missionaries resorted to another and a more direct weapon. They started public religious disputations. The main centres of the disputations were Agra and Delhi, but the echoes of these wordy battles reached the most distant corners of the sub-continent.¹ The immediate result of these polemics was that they made the gulf between the Muslims and the British wider. The War of Independence further accentuated these differences with the result that the Muslims became the main victims of British retaliation.

Syed Ahmed Khan had seen in Bijnor and Moradabad the large scale destruction of Muslim families with his own eyes,² and, to quote his biographer, "he was striving hard to save those who had survived; he behaved like a man who turns mad because a part of his house has caught fire and makes frantic efforts to save the rest."³ Countless families and individuals who constituted the cream of Muslim Society had been wiped out; those who had escaped total destruction were being ruined, being victims of distrust, and thrown into oblivion. They were being removed from Government posts and their properties were being confiscated; in short having been deprived of political supremacy they were now left to face the terrors of unemployment and starvation.

Syed Ahmed Khan was so overwhelmed by the plight of the Muslims in the sub-continent that he decided at one time to migrate to some other country.

¹ The greatest of these disputations was held in April, 1855, at Agra, between groups of *Ulama* and missionaries led by Maulana Rahmatullah and Bishop Pfander respectively. An account of the disputation was printed with the title *al-Bahas-ul-Sharif fi Istat-ul-Tansikh wa Tahrif* under the patronage of Mirza Fakhru, the heir-apparent of Bahadur Shah II. It is rather interesting that before 1857 Syed Ahmed Khan also wanted to write some pamphlets in reply to the accusations of the missionaries. See, *Hayat*, Part I, 86.

² Syed Ahmed was a member of the Commission appointed to hear petitions against confiscations, the other two being the Commissioner of Rohilkhand and District Judge of Moradabad. *Hayat*, I, 67.

³ *Ibid.*, Part II, 34.

Fortunately, however, he gave up this intention and decided to make efforts to save the Muslim Nation from total ruin. He thought over the problem and came to the conclusion that in Western education alone lay the salvation of the Muslims. He was still a Government servant and, as such, the scope of his activity was strictly limited. However, two of his ideas were fundamental and steps had to be taken to give them practical shape without any delay: efforts had to be made to remove suspicion entertained by the British about the Muslims, and secondly, facilities for Western education had to be provided. A beginning was made in both the directions, even when he was posted in Moradabad. To remove the suspicions of the British officers and bring them closer to the Muslims he wrote his well-known pamphlet, *The Causes of Indian Revolt*, which Graham describes as 'true and manly words.' One may not agree with the author's thesis that the War of Independence was not an effort to expel foreign rule and was only a 'mutiny' of Sepoys and that the Muslims did not fight it as a holy war,¹ but there can be no doubt that it was an extremely bold action on the part of Syed Ahmed Khan to have told the British rulers that they had followed a wrong policy which was bound to result in a disaster like the 'mutiny'. He had expressed these views at a time when "Martial Law" was in force and the word of an officer was the law.² It was considered by Cecil Beadon, Foreign Secretary of Canning, to be a piece of treasonable literature, but the more sensible among the British statesmen took it, as its author wanted, to be "an honest exposition of native

¹ It may be of some interest to know that Syed Ahmed's views were based on conviction and not on political expediency. Sir John Kaye, the great historian of the "Sepoy War" had asked Syed Ahmed Khan to give his views on the War of Independence, when he was on his visit to England. Syed Ahmed's reply dated 14th Dec., 1869, contains his view "that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion." See, Kaye's, *Mutiny Papers*, in the India office Library.

² *Hayat*, I. p. 72.

ideas". Another pamphlet written with the same purpose, but less impressive in its theme, was *Loyal Moham-medans of India*. From the political sphere Syed Ahmed soon passed on to the religious field which, in the context of contemporary politics, was more important. Here he was anxious to emphasize the points of similarity in the teachings of Islam and Christianity and wanted to bring about conciliation between the followers of the two faiths. The pamphlet known as the *Tahqiq i lafz i Nasara* is the first indication of this tendency; this was followed by the publication of his commentary of the Bible. These efforts were continued and became more determined in later years. The first practical step taken by Syed Ahmed to provide facilities and attract the Muslims to education was the establishment of a Persian *madrasah* at Moradabad, but it was short-lived because it was soon merged into the Tahsili School of the city.¹ It was once again from here that he advised the Government to start imparting education in English. Of course, he pointed out that it was under special circumstances that he was giving the advice.

From Moradabad he was transferred to Ghazipur in 1862. Two years later he laid the foundation of a Society for translation work which in course of time became famous as The Scientific Society of Aligarh. He invited a number of his friends and some European officers to his house and addressed them on the need of translating into Urdu Western classics and works of well-known writers of history, specially those which dealt with the rise of nations to power and pre-eminence, their achievements in arts and sciences, their laws and systems of Government and their virtues and vices. "Looking at

¹ The *Tahsili* schools were originally established in 1855 in Moradabad. During the War of 1857 they were closed. They were revived in 1859. *Vide, The District Gazetteer of Moradabad*, p. 136.

the state of my fellow-countrymen's minds", he said, "I find that, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present—from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world,—they are unable to take lessons, and profit by their experiences The book which, I think, would be very suitable for our Society to commence with, is one written by M. Collin on the ancient races, in which are admirably described their discovery of, and improvements on, the arts and sciences as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices."¹ He also spoke on the need of translating works on natural philosophy and economics. Colonel Graham, who had met Syed Ahmed at Ghazipur and had soon become one of his close friends succeeded in persuading the Duke of Argyll to become the patron of the Society. "His Grace", he tells us, "is therefore the first English duke who ever lent the encouragement of his name to a Society founded by an Indian gentleman."² Within two months of the opening of the Society, Syed Ahmed was able to found a school in collaboration with some of the leading citizens of the district. The institution later developed into the Victoria College and contributed to the growth of higher education in that region.

In April, 1864, Syed Ahmed Khan was transferred to Aligarh; he took the office of the newly-founded Society along with him. Here he was able to devote considerable attention to its activities. He constructed a separate building for the Society's office which was

¹ Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

completed in 1866. In the same year he started its own organ, *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, which was published in two languages—English and Urdu. In the beginning it was a weekly paper but later it began to appear twice a week. It continued till the end of its founder's life. Its twofold object was to keep the Britishers informed of the trends of Indian opinion and enable the Indians to appreciate the methods of British administration. In *Hali's* words, "It presented English ideas clothed in Indian garments."¹ Its columns were open to articles on political, social, literary, cultural and other useful topics. No doubt, loyalty to the British Government was the essence of its policy; but it is equally true that it gave the people an opportunity to express their opinions and ideas freely. Because of its emphasis on loyalty it soon gained respect in Government circles and became an effective vehicle of the expression of Indian views, particularly those of the Muslims of the northern Provinces. The tone of the *Gazette* always remained moderate and dignified; every attempt was made not to injure the feelings of any section of the people of the sub-continent. Besides, it maintained a high standard of authenticity in the publication of news. During the thirty-two years of its life there was not a single issue which did not appear on the date on which it was due. The Society was sometimes faced with serious financial difficulties but Syed Ahmed Khan did not allow them to stand in the way of the *Gazette*. The regular publication of this paper in the face of difficulties which its founder had to face was no mean achievement. For over a quarter of a century it educated Muslim public opinion and created among them a political consciousness which was so essential for a constitutional struggle for freedom.

Before leaving for Banaras, Syed Ahmed Khan had

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 103.

persuaded the British Indian Association¹ to send a memorandum to the Government for the establishment of a vernacular university in the North-Western Provinces or alternatively create a Faculty of Urdu in the Calcutta University. The Scientific Society, it was mentioned in the memorandum, would undertake the translation into Urdu of books written in English. The Government's reply contained their appreciation of the proposals so far as the rendering of English books into Urdu was concerned, but they made it clear that for the time being English was indispensable at least for higher studies. The idea of a vernacular university gained some popularity and we have on record resolutions and discussions in the gatherings of educated Indians, which emphasized its need and importance, although some of them differed in matters of detail. Ultimately the idea was dropped.²

Syed Ahmed's visit to England (1869-70) was an event of great importance in his public career. The visit was prompted by more than one reason. A careful study of the relevant material, however, makes it abundantly clear that he was anxious to write his famous book, *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, in that country. He knew this task could not be accomplished without a thorough examination of original sources available at the India Office and other collections in England. Besides carrying on his researches he utilized his stay there for collecting necessary information and obtaining first-hand knowledge of the educational activities in that country. *A letter from London*³ addressed to the Secretary of the

¹ It was founded in 1866 and, in Syed Ahmed's words, "will through the head association to be established in London. . . give the people of the North-Western Provinces an opportunity of making known their wants to Parliament." Speech delivered at the Scientific Society on 10 May, 1866, quoted in Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

² It appears that he abandoned the idea of a vernacular university, because he could read the symptoms of controversies being raised about its location and language. Thus he thought that time was not ripe for that adventure.

³ Graham gives its English version in chapter X.

Scientific Society is an interesting document. It gives some idea how deeply Syed Ahmed was influenced by the achievements of the English people. A superficial study of Syed Ahmed's reactions to "European civilization in swing" would make him look "overwhelmed with it, dazed like a young child."¹ But a careful examination of the circumstances in which he lived and the influences under which he worked will explain the trends of his ideas. He has used rather strong language in censuring the ignorance and backwardness of his countrymen and praising the achievements of European civilization not because he was overwhelmed by its lustre but because he was struck by the patriotism of the English people. He was annoyed 'almost beyond control' by the indifference and apathy of his countrymen towards education. He was painfully aware of the superiority of an educated Englishman over an ignorant Indian, but he believed that if properly educated the Indians could prove to be the compeers of Englishmen provided they had the same advantages.²

His activities as a public worker for more than a decade after the War of Independence had convinced Syed Ahmed that education alone could cure India's ills. What he saw in England and European countries confirmed him in this opinion. Every now and then he expressed himself strongly; he found it intolerable that the people of India should be backward. Even the minutest incident in daily life would stir in him the desire of educating his people.³ He admits that the "general behaviour of Englishmen towards the natives is the reverse of polite, and that this should cease", but frankly

¹ Smith, W.C., *Modern Islam in India and Pakistan* (Second Edition, Lahore, 1947), p. 9.

² Cf., Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³ He refers to his maid-servant's anxiety to read the paper thus, "Look at this young girl, Elizbeth Matthew", he writes, "who, in spite of her poverty, invariably buys a half penny paper called the 'Echo' and reads it when at leisure." *Ibid.*, p. 192.

admits that "I do not urge this point on account of the nation's being entitled to politeness on the score of ability."¹ He laments the condition of his co-religionists. "The fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem is wrapt around the Mohammedan community: they remember the old tales of their ancestors, and think that there are none like them."² It is no wonder then that in the concluding paragraphs of this historic letter Syed Ahmed Khan emphatically points out that "until the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is not possible for a native to become civilized and honoured."

During his stay in England Syed Ahmed gave considerable thought to his plans for the education of Muslims. He visited educational institutions to study their working, organization and method of teaching. His visit to Cambridge may be specially mentioned. In spite of his ignorance of English he studied in detail the various institutions and departments of the University and was able to form a clear idea of the working of that great centre of education. After studying the system of education in England he wrote a pamphlet in which he criticized the Indian educational methods and gave his own views as to what changes and reforms were needed. This was published in London. He sent some literature to Syed Mahdi 'Ali Khan for being published in India. The idea of founding a full-fledged college for the Muslims had now taken firm root in his mind. He had decided in consultation with his friends and his son, Syed Mahmud, that for the materialization of this project it was necessary:

- (a) to eradicate from the minds of the Muslims their prejudice against the study of Western sciences and literature,
- (b) to collect funds for the proposed college,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

² *Graham, op. cit.*, p. 189.

- (c) to make the Muslims politically conscious and educate them in the teachings of Islam along with Western sciences,
- (d) to create among them feelings of brotherhood, and
- (e) to bring the children of Muslim families to a place where they should live and learn together and develop feelings of mutual sympathy.¹

Soon after his return to India (September 1870) Syed Ahmed started work on his projects. He had decided to publish a journal, *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* with a view to educate Muslim public opinion in favour of his schemes and ideas. The *Tahzib* became one of the pillars of the Aligarh Movement. It has a unique importance in the history of Muslim life in the post-1857 period. In the life of Syed Ahmed it was an important milestone. It propagated his ideas and made his projects and intentions known to his people. It was mainly through it that he became the leader of the Muslims in India. It has been stated that the inspiration had come from the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*,² but the scope of the *Tahzib* was wider. To social reform he had added the reconstruction of religious thought and the remodelling of the system of education, Syed Ahmed's proposal to start a new college did not go unopposed. "When the Mohammedan A.O. College was being started", writes Graham, "a Mohammedan wrote to Mecca asking the priests as to their opinion on Syed Ahmed's proposed college. He said—'What is your opinion (may your Excellence continue) regarding the legality of an institution established by a man who does not believe in the existence of an Evil One; who denies the bodily night-journey of the Prophet to heaven; who does not believe the story of

¹ 'Alam, Iftikhar, *Mohammedan College History* (Agra, 1901), pp. 8-9.

² Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

Adam: who exhorts Mohammedans to follow English example; who maintains that all the religious learning in Mohammedan libraries is of no avail; and that it is necessary to have a college to teach modern philosophy. . . . Now, under the divine promise of reward in the next world, let me know whether it is religiously lawful for Mohammedans to aid this college or not.' One priest wrote—'In this case no assistance is allowable to the institution. May God destroy it and its founder. No Mohammedan is allowed to give assistance or countenance to the establishment of such an institution. It is, moreover, the duty of the faithful to destroy it if it be established, and to chastise to the utmost those who are friendly to it.' After these *fatwas* were fulminated against Syed Ahmed by the learned doctors of Mecca, he received numerous anonymous letters, in which the writers said, they had sworn on the Koran to take his life."¹ Thus, in spite of the misleading question on which the ruling was based, it created ill-will against the Movement. However, equally enthusiastic were those who supported Syed Ahmed's appeals and agreed with his proposals. The *Tahzib* had prepared the ground well; even before Syed Ahmed could give a practical shape to his project of a college, some spirited workers started schools in their own towns. Three years after the first appearance of the *Tahzib* a Muslim school was founded at Ambetha by Maulawi Sakhawat 'Ali. He was undoubtedly prompted in his efforts by the *Tahzib*. He stated, "Even before this we were anxious to make efforts for the amelioration of our people, but there was no one to remind us (of our duty) and wake us from slumber. Now the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* has alerted and warned us to an extent that a school has been established even in this town."² Having quoted these

¹ Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-04.

² *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*, Vol. IV, Part I (as quoted in *Hayat*, Part II, p. 55).

remarks about the Ambetha School, Syed Ahmed writes, "The last school founded as a result of our appeals is the Imamiah School of Lucknow." The *Tahzib* followed an uncompromising policy which proved advantageous because, as its opponents grew more vehement, its supporters became more enthusiastic and determined. In course of time even a section of the '*ulama* began to feel the need of teaching Western sciences and languages; ultimately opposition to English education died a natural death.

An other service rendered by the *Tahzib* was to awaken the Muslims to the need of answering the mischievous misrepresentation of Islam by Western writers. A detailed account of its achievements in this field cannot be given here. It is obvious, however, that the first great writer who countered the Western criticisms and distortions of Islam and its history was Chiragh 'Ali who wrote frequently in the *Tahzib*. In doing so, he also contributed to a modernistic understanding of Islam. Syed Ahmed had made a beginning earlier. The tradition developed and he and his co-workers produced copious literature of excellent quality on Islam. Even today the students of Islamic exegesis and history amply profit by the writings of Chiragh 'Ali, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Shibli and others.

The keystone of the Aligarh Movement was the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College founded by Syed Ahmed at Aligarh. The College was much more than a seat of learning; it soon became the centre of the political, cultural and literary life of the Indian Muslims. For nearly three-quarters of a century—until the Partition—Aligarh retained this position and produced leaders who contributed to the strength and progress of the community. The founder of the College understood the importance of his venture from the beginning. He wanted the College to develop into a full-fledged Uni-

versity. Only then, he thought, the Muslims could get the right type of education; he wanted the Muslim educational system to be in the hands of the Muslims and free from State control. This objective was made clear in the scheme which was submitted to the Government. The Government reacted sharply and flatly refused to give a grant-in-aid for a University. Syed Ahmed had no option and thought it wiser to surrender to the Government.¹

Almost simultaneously with the publication of the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* Syed Ahmed set up a Committee for the better disposition and advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India.² The Committee issued a pamphlet containing a questionnaire about the causes of the general aversion of the Muslims for Government educational institutions and the ways and means by which they could be reconciled to the study of Western literature and sciences. The answers were to be in the form of articles or papers written on these topics.³ Of the thirty-two articles received the one by Mahdi 'Ali Khan, the future Mohsin-ul-Mulk, was considered to be the best.⁴ Syed Ahmed prepared a report on the basis of the suggestions made by the writers. The main causes of Muslim aversion to Western sciences and education were: (1) the absence of religious education in the Government institutions, (2) the submersion of religious belief by the new education, (3) the corruption of morals and Muslim ideas of polite behaviour and manners, (4) prejudices, (5) the defective teaching in

¹ According to *Hali*, he found the following couplet apposite to the situation
 نہ ہو تاب پرواز گر آسمان تک — تو وہاں تک اڑیں ہو رسائی جہاں تک
 (If we have not the strength to fly up to the skies, we should fly up to the place which we can reach). See, *Hayat*, Part I, pp. 157-58.

² *Khwastgaran i taraqqi Talim Musalmanan*, to be mentioned hereafter as the *Sadr Committee*.

³ It was also announced that the writers of the three best articles would be given prizes of Rs. 500/-, Rs. 300/- and Rs. 150/- respectively.

⁴ He declined to accept the prize which, therefore, was given to the next best writer.

Government institutions and (6) the habits, customs and manners of the Muslims. In criticising the Government system of education Syed Ahmed had clearly mentioned that it did not and could not meet the requirements of the Muslims. The entire administration was in the hands of an autocratic British Director who did not consult the needs of the Muslims; instruction was not given with reference to the natural inclinations and capacities of the students, science subjects were taught in English, which made their study difficult for the beginners; the method of examinations was faulty and encouraged cramming and, lastly, oriental languages and literature were ignored and "books containing matter hostile to Islam have been introduced in the Government colleges and schools." Another important point on which emphasis was laid was the need of preserving the achievements of the Muslims in the field of learning.¹ In view of these considerations Syed Ahmed was able to convince some of his friends that a college of their own could meet the requirements of the Muslims. Under his guidance the Sadr Committee set up 'The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee' on 15 April, 1872.² The new Committee made a good beginning and appointed sub-committees to collect funds at different places (30 June, 1872). Of these sub-committees the most active was the one set up at Aligarh, Maulawi Sami'ullah Khan being its chief worker. The question of the location of the proposed College was also important and was decided after some discussion of the different proposals. The final decision was taken on 8 November, 1872, in a meeting of the Sadr Committee held at Banaras; the choice fell on Aligarh. Sami'ullah Khan was accordingly directed to take preliminary steps for

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 139; Graham (pp. 246-48) has reproduced a lengthy extract from an article published in *The Pioneer* in 1877.

² Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

establishing the institution. The Committee also authorized Syed Ahmed to approach the Provincial Government for a permanent lease of the land lying vacant in the old cantonment area between the Aligarh fort and the town. The Government agreed to give this land and communicated their decision to the Committee on 19 March, 1874. The local committee purchased the few private houses situated adjacent to the area. In the beginning of the following year, the ~~the~~ Committee passed a resolution asking Sami'ullah Khan to start a school at Aligarh and let the Committee have a statement of estimated expenditure. He submitted a scheme¹ which was approved and he was authorized to make necessary arrangements for the opening ceremony of the School on 24 May, 1875. Syed Ahmed came from Banaras to attend the function which was presided over by Maulawi Mohammed Karim. A week later the School began to function.² In November Sir William Muir visited the School. Syed Ahmed gave an address to him and seized the opportunity to explain the distinctive features of the institution. He laid emphasis on the fact that the Muslim pupils would get an opportunity of studying the Western sciences and literature. Obviously he was referring to the defects of the Muslim educational system of his day, which made no provision

¹ Sami'ullah Khan had asked for and was given sanction for an expenditure of Rs. 489/- per month. See, Iftikhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

² Several poets wrote poems for this occasion but the following couplets of Maulana Safdar Husain giving two chronograms (one in *Hijrah* and the other in Christian era) are interesting:

ظاہر میں عیسوی ہے باطن میں ہے وہ ہجری — اے سامعین سنئے اللہ دل لگا کر
تھی مجھ کو اک دن فکر تاریخ مدرسہ کی — بولا یہ ملہم غیب الہارہ سے بچہتر

(Tr: Christian in form it is *Hijrah* in meaning—O my audience, listen to it attentively. I was one day absorbed in thinking for a chronogram of the school:

The Revealer of Secrets said : Eighteen hundred seventy-five). The figures of the letters of *atharah se pichatter* (1875) when put together yield 1292, which was the year of the *Hijrah* calendar.

for the Western sciences, and short-comings of the Government institutions which ignored the oriental learning. Muir's reply is an interesting document. He had contributed to the funds of the project with the condition "that the amount should be appropriate strictly to the furtherance of secular studies, and of European sciences and literature. . . ." He wanted to inquire, through a personal visit, "how far the arrangements for the separate pursuit of these secular studies were in actual operation. . . ." He admits that "the education of the young should be upon the religious basis", but frankly apologizes for his inability as well as that of a "Christian Government" to "inculcate the tenets of Hinduism or Islam." He spoke on the advantages of education and expressed the hope that the students would fully profit by them. "Let the elites of the Allygurh College", he said, "be known not only for their learning, but also for their probity and faithfulness; for truth, obedience to their parents, and discharge of all the relative duties of life; for purity and self-restraint; for sympathy and consideration for the want of others. Let those within your reach be the better and happier for you".¹ He concluded his reply by "assuring the committee of the warm interest taken in the institution by the Viceroy himself." In October 1876, Muir again paid a visit to Aligarh on his way home. He was again presented with an address and thanked the Committee for "your design of endowing a scholarship in my name having this object in view."²

The foundation-stone of the College was laid by

¹ Muir also acknowledged the patronage of the Rulers of Rampur and Patiala, Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad as well as of Raja Baqar Ali (Pindrawal), Lutf Ali Khan (Chatari) and Inayatullah Khan (Bhikampur). He was perfectly right in saying that, "Maulvie Samce-oolla, the Subordinate Judge of Allygurh, had devoted himself heart and soul to the institution; and the rapid progress already attained was in great measure due to him." Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-59.

² He refers to the study of Arabic, *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Lord Lytton on 8 January, 1877.¹ As soon as the Viceroy took his seat under the huge *shamianah* Syed Mahmud stepped forward and read an address presented on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee.² It throws light upon the needs which the new institution was intended to serve. "So different", it said, "in many respect are our educational wants from those of the rest of the population of India, that the best measures which the Government can adopt, consistently with its policy, must still be inadequate; and even if it were not opposed to the wise policy of Government to interfere in matters of religion, it would be beyond its powers to remove difficulties which owe their strength to religious ideas, and will only yield to theological discussion. The Government could neither introduce a system of religious instruction, nor could it direct its efforts toward contending with prejudices of a race by whom religion is regarded not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most ordinary secular concerns of life." The Committee also mentioned "the opposition from the bulk of the Mussulman community", which, they were happy to state, "is dying away", and the promoters of the scheme could legitimately hope that "from the seed which we sow today there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike from roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings. . . ." Lytton's reply to this address was encouraging. Regarding the difficulties which lay in the path of the institution he expressed

¹ *The Pioneer* of the same date published an article on "Mohammedan Education." It refers to Lytton's visit in these words: "The ceremony which takes place today at Allygurh marks the great progress already made by one of the most thoroughly sound and promising movements ever set on foot for the advancement of Indian education The rising college bids fair to be a real force, in this country, and its expansion is guaranteed by the fact that it is entirely spontaneous in its growth—the fruit that is to say, of purely native sagacity and determination, in no way an exotic institution, planted by the Government and watered by official favour." See, Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.

² *Kameti Khazanat-ul-Biza'at*. It had been set up in 1872.

a hope that "the well-known vigour of the Moham-medan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions. . . ." He reminded his audience that "the greatest and most enduring conquests of the Moham-medan races have all been achieved in the fields of science, literature, and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of the continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian Peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics, and philosophy, far in advance of all contemporary science ; and to this day the populations of Spain and Portugal, for their very sustenance are mainly dependent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. . . and it is in the absorption of those ideas and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Mohammedans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition."

In spite of this encouragement Syed Ahmed's task was exceedingly difficult. From the very outset he was confronted with opposition. His writings on religious and social topics had created a controversy and his motives were suspected in the eyes of the conservative sections of the Muslim population. Some theologians joined in obstructing his work ; *fatwas* were issued declaring Syed Ahmed to be an *atheist* and apostate, and contributions to College funds as acts of impiety. Such declarations had their effect which is amply indicated by the fact that four years after the establishment of the

¹ Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-82.

School the number of Muslim students was only 100 against 43 non-Muslims. The College classes started in 1879. Here the progress was even more discouraging, because after two years (in 1881) the number of students in the College was 29. It seems, however, that the intensity of opposition began to decrease after the first decade. In 1899 there were 157 Muslim students in the College and 217 in the School against 17 and 38 non-Muslims respectively.

The importance of the College, however, did not depend on numbers. Besides being the pivot of a politico-social Movement it had certain features which distinguished it from other educational institutions of the sub-continent. As far as the syllabus was concerned theology was made compulsory for all Muslim students. The Shi'ah and the Sunni students were taught their own doctrines. For the supervision of religious instruction the Trustees had appointed two strong Committees, and one Dean. The Committees were constituted of leading Muslims and scholars who were known for their breadth of vision and neutrality in theological matters. Their main functions were to prepare the syllabi, select books and see that instruction was imparted in a satisfactory manner. They were also expected to provide facilities for resident scholars to observe religious practices, such as fasting in the month of *Ramazan*. Muslim students residing in the hostels were required to pray regularly in the College Mosque. The appointment of these Committees to make arrangements for religious instruction was necessary because the opponents of the Movement had created an impression that Syed Ahmed's theological views would form the basis of religious teaching at Aligarh. However, even these precautions did not prevent misunderstandings which were spread

by persons who did not agree with him.¹ The rates of fees charged for tuition and boarding and lodging also were criticised, because hitherto education had been free among the Muslims.

Another distinctive feature of the College was its organization of a residential system. It started in 1875 with 66 resident students. Three years later there were 74 Muslim and 11 Hindu resident students. In 1898 when Syed Ahmed died the number of students had reached 349, of whom 250 lived in the College hostels. As a result, the Aligarh students made remarkable progress in games and sports and came to be known for the excellence of their manners and behaviour. The residential system brought together young men belonging to different parts of the sub-continent and afforded them opportunities of widening their outlook on life. The subsequent history of the institution, which was raised to the status of a university in 1920, shows that Aligarh was capable of training leaders for almost every walk of life.

Syed Ahmed seems to have realized very early that the establishment of a College could not solve the problem of Muslim education. It was necessary to have a forum for discussing educational matters. For this purpose he decided to set up the Mohommedan Educational Congress, which soon became the second great pillar of the Aligarh Movement. Addressing the Inaugural Session of the Congress on 27 December, 1886, he said, "I do not agree with those who think that we can make progress by discussing political problems. On the contrary I believe that education alone can be the source of our progress." Developing the argument further he remarked: "We Muslims are called a single nation, but

¹ A rumour was spread that "Undoubtedly prayers are held in the *Madrasat al-'Ulum*, but the Committee has given a *fatwa* that there was no harm in talking during the course of *namaz*; hence the students continue talking when offering prayers." Some persons had accused the Committee for having recommended that the five daily prayers could be reduced by two. *The Institute Gazette*, 18 June, 1881 (as referred to in *Muhammedan College History*, p. 92).

the Muslim residents of one part of the sub-continent are as much ignorant of the condition of those living in other parts as of the people of foreign countries. We do not know what ideas the people of the Panjab have about national education and progress, nor do we know what they have achieved and they propose to do in the field We have no means of exchanging our ideas and reforming (our system) by removing its defects and short-comings In view of these considerations it has been proposed that people living in different parts and Provinces should assemble together every year, so that conditions in one district and Province might be made known to the Muslims of other districts and Provinces, and after due deliberation we adopt the best means for furthering the cause of national welfare and progress.”¹ Thus was laid the foundation of Muhammedan Educational Congress. In 1890 it was decided at the Allahabad Session that its name should be changed into “Mohommedan Educational Conference.”

The main objects of the Conference as reflected in the resolutions passed at its annual Sessions were to help the Muslims of various Provinces in solving their educational problems and taking steps to publish works based on researches in Islamic learning. The Conference was anxious not only to enable the Muslims to keep themselves abreast of the educational advancement in the subcontinent but also to maintain and preserve their interest in Islam’s contribution to learning and knowledge. These aims were to be achieved through the publication of important and useful books. Thus in their zeal to popularise Western education, the organizers of the Conference did not ignore the old system. The *maktabs* and other institutions imparting instruction

¹ Quoted in *Muhammadian College History*, p. 279. The resolution for the creation of the “Congress” was proposed by Syed Ahmad himself; it was seconded by Justice Mohammed Rafiq of Allahabad.

according to the old methods also received encouragement.¹ To keep the central organization in touch with the conditions prevailing in different parts of the sub-continent the Conference held its annual Sessions at different places. For the first ten years of its existence (1886-96) these Sessions were held regularly and were attended by some of the leading Muslims of the time. In 1897 the Session of the Conference was not held mainly because of the spread of the bubonic plague. Besides holding the annual Sessions the Conference also set up committees at various places to deal with local problems and to keep the central organization informed of conditions in their respective regions.

Syed Ahmed Khan was the Secretary of the Conference until his death. This period of twelve years may be considered as the first stage in the growth of the Conference. He was indeed the life and soul of the new organization. His biographer tells us how anxious he was to make every Session a success and what pains he took to implement its resolutions.² It has been rightly said that Syed Ahmed's devotion to the M.A.O. College affected the policy and activities of the Conference. Most of his time, and because of him, the efforts of the Conference were devoted to the growth and improvement of the College. In 1887 in the Lucknow Session of the Conference a resolution was proposed to the effect that the Muslims should not fritter away their resources by opening small schools in many places. The proposal was severely criticized and several speakers, particularly Munshi Sajjad Husain, editor of *Oudh Punch*, censured Syed Ahmed's policy.³

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 204

² *Ibid.*, pp. 206-07

³ Maulawi 'Abdul Razzaq has given an interesting account of the incident in his *Yad i Ayyam* (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1946), pp. 18-20. Also see, the Proceedings of the Conference for the Session.

In every Session of the Conference a number of resolutions were passed and if it had been possible to give them all a practical shape many a problem of the Muslims would have been solved. But organizing educational institutions all over the sub-continent and finding a solution to every problem connected with them was too gigantic a task for the Conference with its limited resources. Nevertheless, as *Hali* has said,¹ the Conference did much useful work. It provided an opportunity to the leaders of the Muslims to assemble once every year to discuss their problems. Those who attended its Sessions came there with only one object and that was to devise and consider means of reforming and improving the conditions under which the Muslims had been living. Mutual discussions led to a widening of their outlook and views. The Conference was a non-political organization but nothing could stop the delegates and visitors to its Sessions from discussing privately matters which were not directly connected with education.

The Conference also encouraged the publication of useful articles, pamphlets and books on important subjects. Some of the most eminent writers of the period contributed articles and read papers on various subjects. Of these articles and papers the *al-Jizyah*, *Kutub-Khanah i Iskhandriah*, *Huquq-ul-zimmi'in*, *Musalmanon ke tarraqi aur tanazzul ke asbab*, and *'Isha'at i Islam bila ista'-anat-i-Husam* may be specially mentioned as rich and substantial contributions to Urdu literature on Islamic culture. The speeches delivered by scholars, like Maulana Nazir Ahmed of Delhi, Justice Mahmud and Mohsin-ul-Mulk are of abiding interest for the students of history. In the field of education also the Conference has to its credit some very useful reforms. It was through its efforts that the Allahabad University abandoned the idea of dropping Persian from its syllabi.

¹ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 208.

CHAPTER XX

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

(Political and Social)

THE quarter of a century which separates the Battle of Balakot from the outbreak of the War of Independence witnessed the completion of the British conquest of India. The period is characterised by the rapid progress of Western education and vigorous propagation of Christian doctrines; the foreign rulers regarded both as integral to their scheme of unifying the subcontinent and perpetuating British domination; both caused fear and uneasiness among the people. The social legislation of these years was ill-conceived and unwisely enforced. Muslim power and prestige were ebbing fast. During the first fifty years of its career as a ruling power, the East India Company respected Muslim interests and susceptibilities. Later this policy was completely reversed. A contemporary account of this metamorphosis ends with the following striking passage:

“The Muslims did not join the revolt out of sheer perversity; they had an understandable case against the government. The rigours of the administrative system bore harshly upon them. The indiscretion of authorities were repugnant to all communities but much more so to the Muslims. The reason is obvious. They had occupied an honourable place in the life of the country for centuries past. They are a proud and sensitive people, not interested in the calculations of profit and loss. They will never consent to self-abasement, whatever the temptations held out to them. It is common ex-

perience that they will not, what others may take lying down. This is unfortunate. But Muslims are not to blame for it. They are cast that way.”¹

In 1803 Shah ‘Alam agreed to place the administration of Delhi in the hands of the East India Company. The society of the capital was decadent but its life was colourful. A number of festivals were enthusiastically celebrated. Aquatic sports were popular. The aristocracy patronised musical concerts. Poetical symposiums were held at the Court and elsewhere. Fine arts flourished. Renowned scholars taught pupils at home. The city was dotted with theological seminaries. Religious fervour was much in evidence. But the Empire had foundered and with it was sinking the Muslim community.

The upheaval of 1857 swept away the last relics of Muslim rule in India. The various actions fought in the War of Independence were marked with unprecedented brutality; no quarter was given or asked for. At the end of the War the victors treated the vanquished on a subhuman level. “The British troops were sewing the Muhammadans in pigskins, smearing them with porkfat, and burning their bodies and forcing Hindus to defile themselves.”² Governor-General Canning protested against the violent temper of his countrymen and told Queen Victoria in his usually measured language: “There is a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to set a better example. . . . No one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of 40,000 or 50,000 men can be otherwise than practicable and right.”³ The Muslims were held responsible for the Revolution of 1857 and they had to pay a heavy penalty for their complicity in the plot. They

¹ Syed Ahmed. *Risala Ashab i Baghawati Hind*, p. 51 (Published as an appendix to *Hayat i Jawid*).

² Garraat and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

³ Cunningham, H. S., *Earl Canning*, p. 119.

were subjected to indiscriminate seizures, confiscations and executions.

It was only gradually that the shock of the Revolution was absorbed. But beneath the outward calm, ominous currents of thought and feeling were at work. Of these, racial antagonism was the worst and the most manifest. The relations between the Indians and the British deteriorated irremediably. The two were separated by impenetrable psychological barriers. The vast majority of Englishmen resident in India, irrespective of their vocations, behaved like an army of occupation in a subjugated territory. They carried aloofness to extremes and regarded themselves merely as birds of passage in India. To them it was a "land of regrets", of heat, insects and malaria. They fancied that they were condemned to a life of "exile amidst a people, half savage, half decadent."¹ They even "forgot the most elementary rules of decent behaviour." Indians were not allowed into English society, restaurants and clubs.² In a garden enclosing a memorial to 'Mutiny' victims, no Indians, except gardeners, were permitted to enter.³ It was dangerous for Indians to visit public places frequented by Englishmen; they were often insulted and assaulted and whenever such brutalities ended fatally, the Anglo-Indian Defence Association of Calcutta strained every nerve to secure clean bills for the culprits.⁴ Sir Bampfylde Fuller has recorded that when he drove through the streets of Kanpur along with the District Officer, the latter cracked his whip at the passersby "who did not hastily obliterate themselves."⁵ The fun and frolic at English social gatherings included caricatures of Indian life, which only served to deepen the spectator's

¹ Garrat, G.T. (Editor), *Legacy of India*, p. 411.

² Blunt, W. C., *India Under Ripon*, p. 263.

³ Fuller, Sir Bampfylde, *Some Personal Experiences*, pp. 5-6.

⁴ Cotton, Sir Henry, *New India*, p. 58.

⁵ Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

contempt for the Indian way of living.¹

The racial antipathies were aggravated, as never before, by the Anglo-Indian agitation against the Ilbert Bill, engineered mostly by the planter community. The Anglo-Indian official class was openly in sympathy with the colonists.² Attempts were made to seduce the army. The British non-official community boycotted Ripon's levies. There was a proposal to boycott the Government loan. The Viceroy was openly insulted in the streets of Calcutta by planters brought from outside for the purpose.³ The Anglo-Indian journals characterised the Bill as an unprecedented and "revolutionary" measure designed to "put every Englishman and woman at the mercy of native intrigue and native fanaticism."⁴ In one particular district the planters resolved that they would knock down, without much ado, the first Indian magistrate who "presumed" to try a European.⁵ The dismal story of race-hatred is a long one. The tension between the rulers and the ruled lasted till the end. It undid the good effects of much that was otherwise commendable in British rule.

The introduction of Western education proved to be a turning point in history and a decisive factor in shaping the destiny of the subcontinent. India's first occidental preceptors, however, were Christian missionaries. The Government was somewhat late in assuming its proper responsibility. It was in 1835, that the Government of William Bentinck decided in favour of 'New Education' after a prolonged and heated controversy; in 1844, Hardinge ordered that English speaking "natives" alone were eligible for the public services; in 1854, the Department of Public Instruction was organised and two years

¹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

² Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³ Wolf, Lucien, *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon*, Vol. 2, p. 128.

⁴ Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*

later the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded.

The results of Western education were partly good and partly bad. It gave a common cultural background to the educated classes and made for an outward unity between the different racial elements living in the sub-continent. "The language of Milton and Shakespeare became the common language of India" and thus was the confusion of tongues transcended. It is significant that the Indian counteragitation over the Ilbert Bill could only be disseminated by means of the English language in the different parts of the country. But in spite of all this and "in the absence of any positive unifying aspirations" . . . the acquisition of Western ideas and ideals in itself "did not annihilate politically or materially" India's unyielding racial distinctions.¹ By placing the instruments of propaganda and self-expression at the disposal of every group it facilitated the expression and organisation of differences and disunities.

This education engendered in the youth an attitude of irreverence towards religion. It undermined the basis of Indian society but was "unequal to laying down the foundation stone of reconstruction." The morals of the educated youth were the subject of unedifying comments everywhere. There was a widespread feeling that "a system of education in which moral training was neglected would be unworthy of the name of education" and that something should be done to develop the sense of right and wrong in the minds of the students.

Finally, the Indian political movement was very largely the outcome of Western influence imbibed through education. The writings of Paine and Philosophical radicals and the speeches of Burke were read by the University students "as suggesting that all the

¹ Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education in India*, p. 61.

political and social evils from which India was visibly suffering might be amended by the introduction of representative institutions.” Occasionally, the education authorities sought to keep away the youth from this ‘literature of revolt’. Calcutta University, for instance, interdicted the writings of Burke ‘probably’ for the reason that Burke teaches revolutionary doctrines.¹ A Bombay Governor ‘prohibited the use of Macaulay’s essays on Clive and Hastings as text-books in Bombay schools lest they prove subversive of loyalty.’²

Of the social movements that grew out of the impact of the West on Hinduism, Brahmo Samaj comes first. It exercised a potent influence on the life of Bengal in the sixties and seventies of the last century.³ Rammohun Roy’s thought lacked form but not content: it borrowed freely from Islamic mysticism, Christianity and the Hindu Upanishads.⁴

The more important religio-political Arya Samaj worked, for sometime, in collaboration with the venturesome Theosophical Society, which had evoked the admiration of its founder. This spiritual coalition, however, proved embarrassing and had to be dissolved in 1881.⁵ In Arya Samaj modern ideas were aligned with reactionary Hinduism. Thus its founder paid homage to Western science, emphasised the necessity of social reform, derided idolatry, scoffed at Hindu superstition and caste prejudice, and strongly disapproved of child marriage.⁶ Alongside of all this we find him preaching the sanctity of the cow, organising an association for its ‘protection’ and presenting a monster petition to the Government

¹ Banerjee, Sir Surendra Nath, *A Nation in Making*, p. 142.

² Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 104.

³ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ Farquhar, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 36-37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

praying for the imposition of a ban on its slaughter. He preached a return to the ancient Vedic faith, stressed unity of God and the extrication of alien faiths like Islam and Christianity.¹ His battle cry 'India for the Hindus' was charged with momentous political consequences.²

After the great political avalanche of 1857 the Muslim affairs in the subcontinent presented a gloomy picture. The rulers at once assumed that Muslim spite and scheming had let loose this deluge of fire and brimstone, they built up a legend of Muslim blood thirstiness, ferocity and intolerance. Consequently, the Muslims were penalised and persecuted. Speaking of Bengal, where his vocation brought him into intimate contact with the populace, Hunter declared, "if any statesman wishes to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to truly narrate the history of one of these (*i.e.* ruined) Muhammadan families in Bengal."³ The dwellers of palaces were compelled to live in stable-yards. The houses of impoverished aristocrats "swarmed with grown up sons and daughters" none of whom had a chance of doing anything for himself or herself in life. "A hundred and seventy years ago", says the same writer, "it was impossible for a well-born Musalman to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."⁴ The magnificent system of popular Muslim education had been wrecked by unabashed pillage of trusts devised to maintain it.⁵

Positions in public service were gradually snatched away from Muslim hands. It appeared that the Government singled them out for exclusion from employment with, what was to all intents and purposes, the flourish

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-86.

of a trumpet. When, for instance, a number of vacancies in the office of the Sunderbans Commissioner were advertised in the Government gazette, it was bluntly stated that the appointments were to be given to Hindus alone.¹ An official inquiry in Bengal disclosed that when the serving Muslim employees were placed on the retired list, the Government offices would be altogether cleared of Muslims.² On another occasion it was noticed in the same Province that in an extensive department staffed by an army of employees, not a single scribe could decipher Patois, *i.e.* Bengali Muslims' dialect.³ The conditions prevailing in the metropolitan city of Calcutta were still worse. In the year 1871, there was no Government office in which a Muslim could hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots and mender of pens.⁴

A pitiable petition presented by the Orissa Muslims to the Divisional Commissioner stated that their people had been "levelled down and down, with no hope of rising again"; and that: "the penniless and parsimonious condition which we are reduced to, consequent on the failure of our former government service, has thrown us into such everlasting despondency, that we speak from the very core of our heart, that we would travel into the remotest corners of the earth, ascend the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, wander the forlorn regions of Siberia, could we be convinced that by so travelling we should be blessed by a government appointment of ten shillings a week."⁵ "In short", observes Hunter, "the Musalmans have sunk so low . . . that nobody takes notice of their helpless condition, and that the higher authorities do not deign even to acknowledge their existence."⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

² *Khutut i Sir Syed*, p. 50.

³ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Speaking of the countless Muslim landlords who were expropriated in the North Western Provinces (later U.P.) for their "perfidy" in the "Mutiny", Syed Ahmed declared; "scores of illustrious families were laid low. Theirs is a harrowing tale of woe. I was heedless of my personal sufferings, grievous though they were. I was shocked at the afflictions and humiliations of my people I declined the Government offer of the lately confiscated Muslim estate of Chandpur in consideration of my loyal services in the Mutiny. I was seized with despair. I lost all hope of Muslims ever rising again and recovering their lost splendour. I stood aghast at the tragedy. I found Muslim tribulations unendurable. This growing agony aged me prematurely. I wanted to say good-bye to the country of my birth and settle down in a foreign land. However, it was at Muradabad, where Muslim losses were beyond all reckoning, that I resolved not to desert my people but to stand by them in their ordeal and to sink or swim with them. . . ."¹

In the Panjab, where things were somewhat better, we find Mr. Arnold, the Director of Public Instruction, viewing with concern the Muslim preponderance in the teaching profession, the universal esteem enjoyed by the Muslim preceptors, the high percentage of literacy among their co-religionists, the growing number of Hindu boys receiving instruction in schools staffed by the Muslims, the undesirability of continuing in a policy of drift emphasising the paramount necessity of reversing these tendencies.² His successor, Mr. Fuller, pleaded his inability to rectify the situation but laid down the long-term plan of attracting Hindu pupils to normal schools and fixing them, on their completion of their training, in places where Muslim teachers were not insistently

¹ *Maimu'ah Hal Honourable Doctor Sir Syed*, p. 399.

² *Ahmad, Tufail, op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

demanded.¹ In the Central Provinces the Inspector-General of Public Instruction passed orders banning the appointment of Muslim teachers in the normal school at Raepur.²

The transition had disorganised the spiritual, no less than the secular life, of Muslim people. The majority of the *'ulama* were highly conservative; with them religion was lost in fables and formalism. Stuck in intellectual stagnation, they were extremely intolerant of inquiry and criticism in matters of religion. Few of them had a rational or philosophical basis for the faith they professed. Mutual recriminations and obstinate wranglings were the by-products of their religious practices.

To sum up the Muslims as a community had fallen on evil days. The War of Independence left them in a state of sullen despair. They were backward educationally and impoverished economically. They were treated as pariahs in Government offices and had practically no share in industry, commerce or professions like medicine, law and journalism.³

On the other hand the British rulers of India fancied that the "Mutiny" had been of Muslim designing: that their belief in the doctrine of *jihad* inevitably disposed Muslims to sedition and disloyalty towards the non-Muslim suzerain; that they were politically irreconcilable and would never take the good the gods had provided them, that Islam was the cult of steel embodying all that was ugly and beastly in human nature; that the record of Islam in world history was "gory and dripping with blood"; that most of the Muslim monarchs were ferocious and bloodthirsty tyrants; and that Islam was a set of unprogressive tenets professed by inherently backward communities "insusceptible to the influences of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

² Report of the members of the Select Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Mohammadans of India, p. 38.

³ Fuller. *op. cit.*, pp. 131-32.

modern world.”¹

It was in this atmosphere that Syed Ahmed's public career began. His work in the year immediately following the 'Mutiny' constitutes the background to the Aligarh Movement and can best be described as a mission of conciliation. He dedicated himself to bringing about relations between the rulers and the ruled, between the Muslim subjects and their Christian rulers and between Muslims and Hindus. In their arrogance the British rulers of India regarded themselves as infallible. Syed Ahmed sought to bring home to them their past errors and future responsibilities and a greater awareness of the issues, moral and psychological, involved in governing a huge subject population alien in race and culture. The first contribution to this end, in order of chronology as well as importance, was an Urdu pamphlet entitled *Risalah Asbab i Baghawat i Hind* (or the Causes of the Indian Revolt), and translated into it was a factual analysis of the causes of the revolt. With an informed sociological background, it drew up a courageous indictment of the Company rule and represented the revolt as an outcome of the frustrations and accumulated wrongs of decades.² By its indiscreet acts, the essay argued, the Government had forfeited the trust of the people. Its actions were always suspect:³ people accused it of bad faith and felt convinced that its new fangled regulations were calculated to humiliate and degrade them. This little monograph is a closely reasoned document of considerable historical value. Its outspokenness is equalled by its moderation.

If Syed Ahmed's first and foremost object was to acquaint the British with the Indian mind, his next

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

² Syed Ahmed, *Risalah Asbab i Baghawat i Hind*, p. 17.

³ Mehta, *Ashoka*, 1857, pp. 21-22.

anxiety was to bring within the ken of his countrymen the manifestations of the European spirit in the fields of literature, science and technology. It was with this end in view that the Scientific Society was founded in 1863 at Ghazipur (where Syed Ahmed was posted at the time), it was a social as well as educational venture intended to provide a platform where Indians and Britishers could meet to talk over subjects of common interest. Its main purpose was to translate standard English works (on different subjects) into Urdu and utilise them as media of popular education.¹

With Syed Ahmed's transfer to Aligarh, the assets of the Society were also transferred along with him. Aligarh became the permanent home of the Society and the centre of its manifold literary activities. The Society was housed in a fine building, employed a corps of translators, owned a press and ran a newspaper, the weekly Aligarh Institute Gazette (1866-98) which set an example of sober and responsible journalism new to Indian Press in the earlier stages of its development. The very first article printed in it discussed the British Parliament. In the beginning it was full of news from England and all other parts of the world.²

Meeting once a month, the Society arranged discourses on law, natural sciences and historical topics of popular interest. Where necessary, scientific experiments were performed before the audience. The publications of the Society included treatises in Urdu on Chemistry, Physics, Light, Heat, and other scientific subjects, as well as elementary and advanced works on Mathematics.³

Syed Ahmed was not content merely with an intellectual approach to the West. He adopted the European style of living to be able to mix more freely with the

1 *Hall, Hayat Jawid*, Part I, p. 210.

2 "Political Thought of Syed Ahmed Khan", an article in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 1944, p. 312.

3. *Hayat*, Part I, pp. 121-126; Graham, *op. cit.*, 49-59; also see Chapter XIV.

Britishers. His visit to England in 1869 was also prompted by a desire to achieve a closer understanding of the British people and their ways. But did he really succeed in promoting good feeling between Indians and Britons? It was quite clear then, as now, that his valiant efforts met with no more than limited success. Towards the end of his life, he went so far as to despair of equality in relations between the rulers and the ruled, even in the distant future. These apprehensions were much increased by the compulsory retirement in 1893 of his son, Syed Mahmud, from the judgeship of the High Court of Allahabad, and he wrote without mincing words that Britishers intoxicated by conquest would never condescend to meet the "conquered and hated Indians" on anything like terms of equality.

Convinced that religious differences raised the most unyielding barrier between the two, Syed Ahmed sought to bridge the gulf between Indian Muslims and their Christian rulers by resolving their religious differences. Islam, its history and institutions, have fared badly at the hands of Western critics. In Syed Ahmed's opinion, this ill-informed criticism had a direct and adverse bearing on the political fortunes of the Muslims of India. A vilified creed would inevitably bring its votaries into contempt. Accordingly, he informed the West that its version of Islam was a gross distortion. At the same time, he told his own people that the Islam practised by them was a caricature of the great creed and a stupid glorification of forms at the expense of its spirit.

There is a strong affinity between Islam and Christianity. Syed Ahmed set out to establish their essential kinship. The task was by no means an easy one. No Muslim had ever attempted it before. But Syed Ahmed took it up in earnest, studied Hebrew with a Jew and produced a Muslim's commentary of the Bible entitled *Tabi'in-ul-Kalam*, i.e. approached the two faiths very much as a

student of comparative religion and attempted to reconcile their doctrinal disagreements; he questioned the popular Muslim suspicion regarding the authenticity of the Biblical text and supported the teachings of the Gospels by copious references to the *Qur'an* and the Muslim traditions; he underlined their similarities and emphasised their common difference with other faiths. Both, for instance, believe the apostolic office to be divinely ordained. Faith in revelation is integral to both. Syed Ahmed also pointed out that the Hebrew scriptures were extant in the Prophet's time and that the Muslim divines of the past had unreservedly accepted their purity. These have no more been tampered with than the verses of the *Qur'an* or the Traditions of the Prophet. The inaccuracies creeping into the translations do not impair the integrity of the original text. Thus Syed Ahmed sought to dispel the Muslim scepticism about the reliability of the Biblical text¹ and fought the Christian prejudice by asserting that 'true' Christianity was synonymous with 'true' Islam.² *Tabi'in-ul-Kalam* is bilingual; the English version is given in parallel vertical columns opposite the Urdu original on every page. Its subject matter is too abstruse and 'tedious' to make a popular appeal. All the same, it is a valuable comparative study, remarkable for its 'tolerant tone'. Syed Ahmed also wrote a pamphlet to show that Islam did not interdict Muslims and Christians dining together provided no wines and forbidden foods are served. This irrational inhibition, he argued, had been borrowed from the Hindu society.³ Similarly, Syed Ahmed's other writings were also intended to conquer Christian aversion to Islam. But it is doubtful if these volumes, thought-provoking

¹ Baljon, J.M.S., *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Lahore, 1958), p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ Syed Ahmed, *Risalah Ahkam i Tu'am Ahl i Kitab*, p. 132.

as they are, produced the intended effect. However, they are remarkable as a literary defence of Islam and form a valuable addition to the library of Urdu literature.

What later political parlance in the subcontinent came to describe as "Hindu-Muslim Unity"—the phrase gained currency later—was very near Syed Ahmed's heart. Indeed it was one of his cherished objects. Again and again he exhorted the two peoples to cultivate mutual trust and tolerance; in this alone lay their salvation; woe betide those who sowed dissensions between them, the two communities are inescapably environed together; religion is personal, but our humanity is common; we live together, suffer together and die together. Let us behave as charitable neighbours.

In 1867, began the Urdu-Hindi controversy which was only partly stilled with the partition of the subcontinent. It became a perennial source of Hindu-Muslim discord, had important repercussions on subsequent political development, and it was during this debate that Syed Ahmed was inevitably driven to the belief that Hindu-Muslim unity was a forlorn hope.

The following narrative follows the account of the dispute given by Syed Ahmed's biographer, Altaf Husain Hali.¹

¹ A fuller account of the Hindu propaganda in favour of Hindi, which formed part of a larger revivalist movement, will also be found in the discourses of the French Orientalist, M. Garcin De Tassy, translated from French into Urdu. The collections of his addresses are entitled *Maqalat i Garcin De Tassy* and *Khutabat i Garcin De Tassy*. Particular reference should be made to the latter volume.

This author speaks of the Hindi zealots as attempting to revive the Middle Ages in India and asserts that Hindus are highly prejudiced against Urdu: in their patriotic fervour, they are out to undo everything that could possibly remind them of Muslim rule. The supporters of Hindi argue that its adoption as the court language would greatly benefit the court-attending Hindus of rural areas who could not understand the legal terminology of Arabic and Persian derivation and it would make forgeries impossible. They also derided the Urdu script as indecipherable and bearing a marked resemblance to the complicated Chinese script.

Ever since 1835, Urdu had served as the court language and the common medium of communication in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces and Bihar. Regarding it as a relic of Muslim domination, the Hindus desired to be rid of it. An organised move in this direction was launched from Banaras in 1867.

A cultural centre in the city took the lead. A vast network of associations and groups with different names, but the one object of supplanting Urdu with Hindi, sprang up throughout these Provinces. A central office was opened at Allahabad to plan, co-ordinate and direct the activities of these satellites, and, in some cases, directly affiliated bodies. Syed Ahmed viewed these developments with undisguised misgivings and felt they augured ill for the future; in the face of such a cultural fissure, he thought, the two communities would inevitably fall apart. His conversation with an English civilian, Mr. Shakespeare, on the subject as he himself reported to his biographer runs as follows:¹

“... in the course of my talk on Muslim education Mr. Shakespeare astonishingly interjected ‘How is that? I never heard you talk of Muslims alone. I have known you to be all along interested in the welfare of both communities equally!’ I told him that the current disputes had convinced me of the futility of expecting the two communities to join hands on any issue whatever. . . . At present the danger is almost imperceptible. But disruptive elements are bound to triumph in the long run. Those who live after me will bear me out. On my own part, I can clearly read the writing on the wall. . . .”²

About the same time the cause of Urdu received a serious set-back in Bihar. The Lieutenant-Governor

¹ Reported by himself to his biographer, Altaf Husain Halli.

² *Hayat*, Part I, 140

of Bengal ordered the replacement of Urdu by the Bihari language, written in Kaithi script, in the courts of Bihar. The immediate apparent cause was his failure to understand the high-sounding and figurative vocabulary of an Urdu address presented to him on behalf of the Scientific Society of Bhagalpur. He declared that an "unintelligible" language like Urdu was administratively inconvenient and must be given up forthwith.¹ Some sections of people in Bihar, mostly Muslims, vainly endeavoured to get the order annulled. This initial success gave a fillip to Hindu efforts. In the late sixties and off and on till the nineties, mass meetings were held in the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab; memorials signed by thousands of Hindus praying for the abolition of Urdu were submitted to Government. For years public controversy dragged on between Syed Ahmed and the sponsors of the Allahabad Association. Even in his last illness, the dying leader had to wield his pen in defence of Urdu to prove its eminent serviceability as a *lingua franca* against its rival.²

The language controversy came to engage the whole of Syed Ahmed's mind. His *Institute Gazette*, which had been started in 1866, in order to educate the country in the politics of England, the Empire and the world at large, was silent on these subjects in 1869, and its pages were entirely filled with the Urdu-Hindi controversy.³

Some writers have continued to repeat parrot like that Syed Ahmed was a generous radical, a genuine patriot and an ardent "Nationalist", who saw in Hindus and Muslims the two corporate components of the 'Indian Nation', and all this up to 1884. But after that

¹ *The Quarterly Urdu* (Karachi, April, 1950), p. 52.

² The last unfinished article of Syed Ahmed dealt with the matter. Ali, Sir Syed Raza, *Amalnama* (Delhi), pp. 87-88.

³ "Political Thought of Syed Ahmed Khan" an article by H.K. Sherwani, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 1944, p. 316.

date, he began to lose faith in old causes, to drift away from time honoured loyalties to view things from a narrower and more exclusive angle, and to emphasise and consolidate Muslim separatism. It is, however, more appropriate to draw the line in Syed Ahmed's career at 1870 instead of 1884 as would appear from the evidence adduced above. Before that year his appeals were invariably addressed to his 'countrymen' and after it to his 'community' alone.

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. The movements for establishing such an organisation had originated in Bombay rather than in Bengal, but the fluent spokesmen of Bengal soon distinguished themselves on its tribune. Their training and temperament inclined them to the Western pattern of democracy and parliamentarism. Loyalty to the British connection is a remarkable feature of the early nationalist movement. Westernised Indians had no link with the Indian Society.¹ However, the Nationalist Movement, as it shaped itself in Bombay under Tilak, was aggressive, revivalist and brimming with religious and racial jealousies.

Year after year, the Indian National Congress passed resolutions emphasising the urgency of introducing democratic institutions in India. The demand had far-reaching implications. In the words of Sir Valentine Chirol its single object was to secure the lasting "ascendency of Hinduism under the specious mantle of Indian self-government". In spite of its dimensions and diversities India's majorities and minorities are unalterable: democracy in this environment essentially meant the eternal subjection of the minority. There is really nothing democratic in the majority yelling an uncompromising demand for democratic institutions (*i.e.* majority rule). This

¹ Topa, Ishwari, *The Growth and Development of National Thought in India*, p. 113.

is dictated by sheer self-interest, however edifying and elevated its expression and, however disinterested its advocacy appears to be. Similarly the minority taking an opposite line is intent on self-preservation though it can be demonstrably and plausibly shown to be politically perverse. Dishonest and selfish causes have a way of providing themselves with intellectual and patriotic props. A heterogeneous people cannot be hammered into unity by subjecting it to a democratic constitution. Syed Ahmed did not view with equanimity the Congress campaign for "democratising" India; this would leave Muslims at the mercy of their numerically superior compatriots. His opposition was very largely reasoned but was, at times, tinged with emotion. He wrote in an article:

"I seriously pondered over the suitability (or otherwise) of the representative system of Government for India long before the Congress took up the matter. Having carefully gone through the opinion of John Stuart Mill, I am convinced that where the majority vote is the decisive factor in a political system, it is essential for the electors to be united by the ties of race, religion, manners, customs, culture and historical traditions. In the presence of these factors, representative government is practicable and useful; in their absence, it would only injure the well-being and tranquillity of the land."¹

It is also to be noted that Syed Ahmed was not alone in distrusting the "elective principle" under Indian conditions. His doubts were shared by others. Sir Henry Cotton, for instance, who castigated Syed Ahmed as a turncoat in politics and whose experience of Indian affairs was unrivalled in his own day admits that the system of election was unsuited to Indian conditions because "it has proved a practical obstacle to the

¹ Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed, *Akhri Mazamin*, p. 46.

success of local self-government. . . . It has proved on occasion to be the source of racial and religious quarrel. It is a practical difficulty in the way of providing adequate representation of minorities, such as Mohammadans for instance; a difficulty which exists in a greater degree in India than in most countries.”¹

The accusation that Syed Ahmed’s attitude towards the Congress was inspired by *extraneous influences from 1885 onwards* is belied by his forthright opposition to the unqualified application of Western (territorial) electoral system in one of his best remembered speeches in the Legislature (1883); his argument ran as follows:

“Ours is a vast country inhabited by diverse folks deeply divided by racial and religious antagonisms. They lack homogeneity. Different sections of the population stand at varying levels of cultural development. So long as religion and caste are the chief props of the Indian social system electoral machinery based upon the western pattern would lead neither to equality nor to fraternity. It would enable the more advanced sections of the population to hold their less fortunate countrymen in thralldom. Cultural differences, caste dissensions and religious wranglings would be more pronounced than ever. Inequalities would sink deeper into the structure of society.”²

A recent publication, half propagandist and half scholarly, makes much of Syed Ahmed’s “liberalism” and his devotion to ideals of “nationalism”. By exclusively relying on Syed Ahmed’s Panjab utterances it arrives at some unusual conclusions. It is true that on some occasions he used the word “nation” to include both Hindus and Muslims. But the speeches in question read like the valedictory address of a good-will

¹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

² *Majmu'ah*, pp. 275-76.

mission rather than hard political thinking and are not consistent either with the rest of his writings or his well-known viewpoint.

That religion is the basic ingredient of the Muslim concept of nationality is the most recurring refrain of Syed Ahmed's speeches and writings. A few typical extracts will bear this out:

"Some reflection is required to grasp the nature of Muslim nationality. From time immemorial, communities have been held together by ties of common descent or common homeland. The Prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) obliterated all territorial and ancestral conventions and laid the foundation of a broad and enduring kinship which comprehends all those who subscribe to the formula of faith . . . This tribe divine assimilates all human beings regardless of colour or place of birth."¹

"We Muslims should hold religion in our right hand and worldly pursuit in the left."² "In Islam alone lies our salvation", he told a gathering of Muslim students at Lahore, "I use the word community to include all Musalmans. Faith in God and His Prophet and the proper observance of the precepts of the faith are the only bonds that hold us together. You are irrevocably lost to us if you turn your back upon religion. We have no part or lot with transgressors or derelicts even if they shine like the stars of the firmament. I want you to dive deep into European literature and science but at the same time I expect you to be true to your faith."³

It is clear from all this that for Syed Ahmed religious sentiment alone imparted cohesion and homogeneity to the fraternity. "If that feeling ceased to exist,

¹ *Majmu'ah*, p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Muslims would perish as a community".¹ Moreover, he set a high value on the internal unity of the faithful. Nothing irritates him more than the attempts to fan the embers of sectarian controversies. The M.A.O. College provided religious instruction to Shi'ahs and Sunnis through the divines of their respective sects, and the same mosque is used by both sects for congregational prayers.²

The same spirit was at work behind his educational system whose basic assumptions can be summed up in a few simple propositions. The problems of Muslim society are fundamentally different from those of Hindu society, for Muslims have an idealism to protect and a way of life to preserve. The education given in Government schools, so eagerly swallowed by Hindus, did not meet Muslim requirements. That is why Muslims spurned and loathed it. It was for Muslims themselves to devise a system appropriate to their needs. It would serve little purpose to fix their hopes on what the Government could do for them.

Describing the aims of the Aligarh education, he told the Educational Conference: "Internal solidarity is the first requisite of our national well-being. It is essential for us to practise Islam. Our youth must receive instruction in the religion and its history alongside of the English education. They must be taught the postulate of Islamic brotherhood, which is the most vital and intimate part of our faith. An acquaintance with Arabic or, at least Persian, is necessary to counteract disruptive tendencies. Fraternal feeling within the group can be best fostered by large numbers of students living together, eating together and studying together. If this cannot be brought about we can neither progress, nor prosper nor even survive as a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

² *Ibid.*, p. 527.

community.”¹ It was in this context that Syed Ahmed told the Education Commission of 1882, that “the use of the word ourselves in any national sense, with reference to the people of India, was out of place.”²

But it must be distinctly understood that he harboured no ill-will against the other community and would not set Muslims against it directly or indirectly. The M. A. O. College admitted Hindu students but they were exempted from religious instruction. Its hostel was managed by a Committee of twenty-five including four Hindus. So long as this Committee endured, Hindus invariably sat on it. Hindu susceptibilities were respected. Cow slaughter was forbidden within the College precincts and beef was not allowed to be served. Speaking on this subject, he told an audience: “I would be sorry if any one were to think that the College was founded to mark a distinction between the Hindus and Muhammadans. All rights at the College which belong to the one who calls himself a Muhammadan, belong without any restriction to him who calls himself a Hindu. There is not the least distinction between the Hindus and Muhammadans. . . both are equally treated as boarders.”³

Hindu tradition has sought to depict Syed Ahmed as a flunkey and a sycophant whose only object was to please the officialdom by appearing to be solicitous about the strength and stability of British dominion in India. This is a cheap caricature inconsistent with his character. Syed Ahmed’s dealings with British officials were marked by rare candour, a quality which the ruthless character of early post-1857 British rule had nearly crushed out of most of his eminent contemporaries. It was an act of sheer courage to have lodged an emphatic protest, as he did against vulgar colour

¹ *Majma'ah*, p. 514.

² Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

³ Sayed Iqbal Ali, *Syed Ahmad ka Safarnamah Panjab*, pp. 159-60.

prejudice displayed by Britishers at the Agra Exhibition of 1867. The cost of offending mighty officials never entered his calculations. His unstinted support for Ilbert Bill was an irredeemable sin in bureaucratic eyes. And when Hunter pleaded for the conduct of the Muslim education "upon our own plan" which should render that "religion perhaps less sincere, but certainly less fanatical."¹ Syed Ahmed observed that if the Government did not deal openly and fairly with the Muslim subjects and decided to deal with them in an "under hand manner" recommended by Hunter, he foresaw much trouble both in his day and thereafter.²

Syed Ahmed was not a waiter on Providence. He advised the Muslims to have their wits about them, not to look up to Government for exceptional indulgence, to put their shoulder to the wheel and live by their own efforts and talents.³ The M. A. O. College "was the practical outcome of the principle of self-help."⁴ It was the expression in bricks and mortar of the unconquerable spirit of self-help which he kindled in their breasts. It is not always possible to lie on the sunny side of the hedge. He would have his people face resolutely the frustrations, adversities and pressure of the times. When a member of his 'Committee for the Advancement and Dissemination of Education among the Moham-madans of India' hazarded the suggestion of pressing the Government to abolish Hindi schools in the Muslim majority areas on the ground that the study of Hindi was distasteful to the community on the whole, Syed Ahmed recorded an emphatic dissent which is worth reproducing in extenso:

"that for the good of the Mohammadans it would not be advisable to make everything favourable to them

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

² Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed, *Review on Hunter's Indian Musalmans*, p. 52.

³ Zwerner, S. M. (Editor), *The Muhammedan World of Today*, p. 191.

⁴ Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

that it would be apparently more beneficial that everything should turn against them, that all the village schools should be made Nagri Schools, and that the language of the courts should also be Nagri, so that the conditions of the Mohammadans might come to such a pass that they would have no means left to satisfy their wants by any means whatever . . . they would awake from their slumbers and would make endeavours for their own welfare.”¹ In 1888, when the National Mohammadan Association of Calcutta petitioned the Governor for an adequate representation of Muslims in Government service, Syed Ahmed deprecated the move, inveighed against its sponsors, characterised it as impracticable and asserted that the only effectual and practical means of ameliorating the lot of the community was to strive hard for their educational advancement.²

The social philosophy of the Aligarh School will be found in essays written for *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* by Syed Ahmed and his co-workers, now available in several volumes. This journal was started by Syed Ahmed almost immediately after his return from England in 1870. Its sub-title “The Mohammadan Social Reformer” does not quite indicate its true character. The vexed question relating to the reform of Muslim society involved a discussion of religious sanctions as most of its encumbrances are said to derive from the precepts of the faith; therefore, a correct appreciation of religion would serve as a powerful lever of reform.³ For this reason religion figured prominently in the pages of *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*.

A rational presentation of Islam as Syed Ahmed saw it, has to reckon with two main difficulties. First, the social morality of Islam, as embodied in *hadis* and,

¹ *Report*, pp. 35-36.

² Quoted in Manglori. Tufail Ahmad. *Musalman Ka Raushan Mustaqbil*, p. 320.

³ *Hayat*, Part I, p. 167.

second, the conventional code of Islam, called *taqlid*, a crippling brake upon the progressive tendencies of the Muslim society. It involved an imperative duty of the faithful to conform to the time honoured modes of thought and conduct deemed expedient, useful or virtuous by the earlier doctors of law. The critics point out that this type of behaviour is repressive of all progress—social, economic, moral or intellectual. Consequently, Syed Ahmed vigorously advocated liberation from intellectual subservience to the past, subjection of its values objective to criticism, breaking of the bonds of convention, destruction of the standardised moulds of thought, and forging of new patterns, of conduct appropriate to the scientific temper of the age.

The courageous and trenchant articles written by Syed Ahmed and his colleagues gave a common ideology, supplied an approach to social problems and furnished the reformist creed with its intellectual foundations. The need for reform came to be recognised gradually. Today these essays are prized for their high literary value and also for the enlightening clarity with which a wide range of significant problems have been handled.

The following observations collected at random from the pages of *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* will give some idea of its contents.

The function of the reformer is one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. He has to be mindful of the feelings, and even of the prejudices, of the people among whom he works. Good manners are of first importance to him. Correlation of means and ends comes next. No cause will prosper if its votaries oppose evil with evil and vilify those who think differently. Narrowness, bigotry and prejudice constitute the greatest hindrance to progress. Mind grows in contact with other minds. Only an open mind is a living mind. Refusal to revise ideas

¹ Syed Ahmed, Essay on "The Mohammedan Theological Literature", pp. 6-7.

and keeping attention fixed on the darker side of things is a characteristic of small minds. . . . Differences of ideas must not be allowed to affect personal relations. Although open discussion of conflicting opinions is good for society, constant wranglings and 'opposition for the sake of opposition' are attributes of uncivilized communities. A social group whose members dare not speak the truth for fear of inviting persecution is essentially unprogressive. . . . Refinement is, above all, a quality of the mind, it does not consist in outward conformity to an accepted social pattern. . . .

Religion is not a matter of popular beliefs or prejudices. It must pass the test of reason. Formal piety carried to extremes defeats its own purpose. The essence of sin is immoderation. High objectives can never be achieved by wishing alone. They have to be striven for. God helps those who help themselves. The self-righteous passivity and spirit of resignation which is mistaken for submission to the will of God has benighted Muslim fortunes through the ages. . . . Religion and modern knowledge do not necessarily contradict each other. The habit of running after scriptural authority on matters outside the scope of the revelation benefits neither learning nor religion. . . .

The activities of an individual are not merely personal; they have social implications as well. The greatness of a people is built upon the worth of its individuals. Muslims lack the qualities of adaptability. This accounts for their chronic backwardness. . . . Civilized living means freedom of opinion, a critical approach to religion, discarding of social evils imbibed from Hindu contacts, elimination of the less desirable traits of human character, such as flattery, insincerity and selfish individualism, proper maintenances of personal and public hygiene, reform of dress and manners of eating, recognition of women's rights and simplification of current forms of

address in correspondence.

Syed Ahmed was fortunate in his friends and followers. He had about him a galaxy of men who generally followed his opinion in political and social matters but each one of them had a distinct role to play and an individual contribution to make.

Syed Ahmed Khan was succeeded as Secretary of the M. A. O. College by his gifted son, Syed Mahmud (1850-1903). He had his early education at the Moradabad and Ghazipur schools. In 1869, he entered Cambridge as a Government of India scholar; in 1873, he was called to the Bar; for some time he worked as a teacher of English in the School and College at Aligarh and later advised the Hyderabad State Government on the codification of laws and improvement of judicial procedure; in 1879, he was appointed District Judge and three years later was promoted to the High Court Bench at Allahabad. As a Judge he distinguished himself by his weighty pronouncements.

Syed Mahmud's role in the Aligarh Movement was substantial rather than conspicuous. Thus he deepened his father's understanding and appreciation of the British educational system and assisted him in the preparation of the blue-prints of his schemes, selection of the College staff, correspondence with Government, drafting of addresses to distinguished visitors, etc. His ultimate object was to raise the College to the status of a University.

Syed Mahmud's *History of English Education in India* is a masterly exposition of an important subject. He also wrote a treatise on the law of evidence in Urdu, regularly contributed to *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* and sat in the Provincial Legislative Council. Through his advocacy, the Muhammadan Educational Conference incorporated the conservation of valuable historical manuscripts into its aims and objects. He was interested

in poetry and mysticism and appreciated the value of oriental learning much more than his father.

Thus Syed Ahmed's task was twofold. He pleaded for adjustment with the new environment created by Western influences, scientific and philosophical. With an inexhaustible energy he plunged himself into the crucial task of the "revaluation of values" for the new society that was rising on the ashes of the old. Times had changed, but the Muslims were slow to recognise this. He made them understand the quasi-permanent nature of the new order. Not only that. He gave the Muslims faith, self-confidence, a way of thinking and a system of ideas. He instructed them to leave alone all political agitation savouring of disloyalty to the State. He held that the education imparted by the State-managed schools was spiritually stultifying for the Muslim youth and that their educational system must be reared upon independent foundations. The Urdu language embodied their cultural heritage and must be defended against hostile attacks. Parliamentary democracy in a country like India, a veritable museum of races, was an anachronism and recruitment to public service based on competitive tests would have the effect of shutting out from it the educationally backward Muslims. It is true that the Aligarh Movement was almost confined to the Panjab and North-Western Provinces in the lifetime of the founder, but within a decade of his death it spread out to other parts of Muslim India and Aligarh became the "visible emblem" of Muslim hopes and desires. It is true that the controversies of Syed Ahmed's day were being pursued at the upper level and the masses were not, for the most part, in the picture. Nevertheless, it also remains true that Syed Ahmed's period was the "seed-time" of vast changes. It was then that the issues were framed, propositions laid down, attitudes defined and the persistent pattern of Hindu-Muslim

relations cast.

Let us not make the facile assumption that Syed Ahmed was occasionally creating the separatist movement. The contributory causes of all movements in history are found in the environment itself. Leaders are seldom aware of the full implications and possibilities of the attitude they strike and the tendencies they initiate. Movements easily overflow their original banks; sluices widen into flood-gates. Syed Ahmed did not more than "drive a stream of tendency" through the Muslim affairs in this subcontinent and in doing so he was making the future.¹

¹ J.M.S. Baljon, the author of *The Reform and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*, says: "Almost at the moment Indian Islam is unthinkable without (Syed) Ahmed Khan, and the self-consciousness and energy of present-day Pakistan are essentially the ultimate consequence of the stimulation and inspiration which he gave to his indolent community." (p. 93) "In politics he (i.e. Syed Ahmed) had stated that the Muslims were a nation who could not and must not be submerged in a system of Government by majority vote. The Pakistanis rightly claim him as one of the fathers of their country. Symonds, R., *The Making of Pakistan* (London, 1951), p. 32.

CHAPTER XXI

SAMI'ULLAH KHAN, MOHSIN-UL-MULK AND HALI

SYED Ahmed Khan was fortunate in gathering round him a band of enthusiastic workers whose sincerity and devotion to the Aligarh Movement were a source of great strength to him. Nearly all his co-workers were men of distinction who had earned fame either as scholars or political leaders. The names of Sami'ullah Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, *Hali*, Zakaullah, Chirag 'Ali, Nazir Ahmed and Waqar-ul-Mulk are closely linked with the history of the Movement. A brief account of the work done by Sami'ullah Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and *Hali* is given in this chapter, references to the activities of the rest of his prominent co-workers will be found in other parts of the book.

Maulawi Muhammad Sami'ullah Khan, the closest and most active of Syed Ahmed Khan's colleagues, in the earlier stages of the Aligarh Movement, was born at Delhi in 1834. He belonged to a well-to-do family, and his father was anxious to give him a sound education. Among his teachers were two distinguished scholars of the day—Maulawi Mamluk 'Ali,¹ and Mufti Sadr-uddin Khan.² The well-known calligraphist, Mir Panjah-kash,³ taught him calligraphy. Sami'ullah Khan took the fullest advantage of this opportunity and is stated to have completed his course of studies in *fiqh*, *hadith*

¹ For his life see, Khan, Syed Ahmed, *Tazkirah Ahl i Dehli* (Karachi, 1955), p. 98.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-70.

and the rationalistic sciences at the early age of eighteen.¹ He then took to the profession of teaching and soon attained distinction as a teacher. He was keenly interested in studies and was known for his serene temper and moderate habits. With his learning he combined piety and strict adherence to the teachings of his faith. In 1856 he took to studying law and qualified himself for *munsifship* by passing the required examination. His teacher, Mufti Sadr-ud-din was happy to learn of his success, but with tears in his eyes, he said to him, "Alas! Now your occupation with the legal profession will not allow you to keep the torch of the ancient sciences burning."²

During the War of Independence, 1857-58, he played a role not dissimilar to that of Syed Ahmed Khan. After the fall of Delhi he was in a position to help the Muslims who were being ruthlessly victimised by the British authorities in that city. In certain cases he collaborated with Syed Ahmed Khan in endeavours to save Muslim lives.³ When the Muslim population was being driven out of the city Sami'ullah Khan did not forget the family of Syed Ahmed Khan, who was in Meerut at that time. He went to the house of Syed Ahmed Khan and took his wife and two sons along with the members of his own family; he had to walk all the distance from Delhi to Basti Nizam-ud-din Aulia, where they took refuge, because he was unable to secure transport for the entire party. Syed Ahmed Khan's mother, her sister and brother⁴ remained in Delhi.

Sami'ullah Khan who had qualified himself for *munsifship* earlier was appointed *Munsif* and posted

¹ *Khutbat i 'Altyah* (Presidential addresses of the annual sessions of Muhammadan Educational Conference, edited by Maulawi Anwar Husain Zuberi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Khwajah Wahid-ud-din Khan who took an active part in the Revolution was shot by the British authorities.

at Kanpur in 1858. In 1861 he was transferred to Aligarh; in the following year, however, he resigned his post and started practice as a lawyer. After eleven years of practice at Agra and Allahabad he was again persuaded by his friend, Justice Pearson, to join service and was appointed Sub-Judge in 1873 and posted at Aligarh.¹ He remained in service till 1892 when he retired as a District Judge. The Government of Hyderabad wanted him to accept a post under them, but he politely declined the offer in spite of the extremely favourable conditions that were offered.

Maulawi Sami'ullah had witnessed the horrors of the War of Independence; he was deeply affected by the hardships which the Muslims suffered through British retaliation. The wholesale victimization of his co-religionists, he believed like Syed Ahmed Khan, could be checked by removing mutual misunderstandings between them and the foreign rulers. An important step in this direction, he thought, was to educate the Muslims. He founded an Arabic *madrasah* in Delhi in 1862. Seven years later when he left Delhi, the *madrasah* was closed. During these years his ideas on education seem to have undergone a change and like Syed Ahmed Khan he also became convinced that Western education was indispensable for the survival of the Muslims. This brought them together, and they became close friends.

On his return from England Syed Ahmed Khan gave final shape to his scheme of founding an institution on Western lines. He formed the "Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee" at Banaras with the purpose of collecting funds for the proposed institution.

¹ At the time of joining service Sami'ullah Khan's clients owed him Rs. 60,000. Some of the clients wanted to pay these dues and brought the money to him, but he declined to accept it, because he was no more in the profession, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In June 1872 this Committee set up sub-committees in different districts. The Sub-committee of Aligarh worked with such enthusiasm under Sami'ullah's leadership that it was decided to establish the proposed College there. It is rather interesting that Syed Ahmed Khan was of the view that adequate funds should be collected before starting the College. Sami'ullah Khan differed from him on this point and ultimately decided to go ahead with his scheme of starting a school. The result of his ceaseless efforts was the inauguration of the school on 24 May, 1875. Two years later Syed Ahmed referred to his services in the annual report in these words: "The College, whose report has been read before you, owes its existence to the strong determination and correct advice of Maulawi Sami'ullah Khan. The College Committee, of which Maulawi Sami'ullah Khan was a member, was of the view that a sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees should be collected before starting a school or a college. The Maulawi Sahib differed from this view, and when he saw that notice was not taken of his views, he started the work of collection and paid one thousand rupees as his contribution in addition to his previous donations. Thus some funds were collected and he opened the school.'" Sami'ullah Khan's determination to start the school despite the hesitation of the majority of the members of the Committee proved to be a significant step in the history of the Aligarh Movement. The school soon rose to a College and in course of time became the greatest Muslim educational institution in the subcontinent. In memory of Sami'ullah Khan's services a lecture room in the main row of the College buildings was named after him; the inscription in Persian contains these words: "On 24 May. . . (he) started this school. All the members of the Committee of the Madrasat-ul-'Uloom are grateful to him and in order to express their gratitude they have put this slab and

named this building after him.”¹

Sami'ullah Khan continued to work for the College in cooperation with Syed Ahmed Khan. In 1888 their relations unfortunately became strained as a result of difference of opinion on the Trustees Bill, particularly on the question of the appointment of a successor of Syed Ahmed Khan in his lifetime. The Bill provided that Syed Mahmud was to hold the office of Joint-Secretary during the life of his father and to succeed him as Secretary after his death. Sami'ullah Khan was of the opinion that a successor need not be appointed as long as Syed Ahmed Khan was alive. He was supported by some prominent men including Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. The differences, though originally on a matter of principle, soon took an ugly turn because of the machinations of the European members of the teaching staff, who did not like the growing influence of Sami'ullah Khan in the administration of the College.² Instead of settling the differences Syed Ahmed Khan put the matter to vote. Sami'ullah Khan was defeated and the majority voted with Syed Ahmed Khan.³ The victory, however, cost Syed Ahmed Khan the closest and the most enthusiastic of his colleagues. Sami'ullah Khan dissociated himself from the institution. Waqar-ul-Mulk tried to bring the erstwhile friends together by persuading them to meet each other in his own presence, but this conciliation proved to be short-lived. Sami'ullah Khan was permanently lost to the Aligarh Movement.⁴

However, Sami'ullah Khan's interest in Muslim education, remained unabated. He was ever ready to

¹ The Persian inscription is reproduced in the *Khutbat i 'Aliyah*, p. 34.

² *Khutbat i 'Aliyah*, p. 34.

³ Syed Ahmed Khan had 50 votes against 23. See, Ifakhar 'Alam, *Muhammadan College History*, p. 101.

⁴ Maulana Hali is definite that Syed Ahmed Khan had been persuaded by the European teachers of the College to provide for the selection of Syed Mahmud as his successor in the Trustees Bill. *Hayat*, pp. 230-32.

welcome the students of the College to his house at Aligarh and gave them the benefit of his advice in matters pertaining to their education and other activities. Later he directed his attention and activities to the construction of a hostel for Muslim students at Allahabad. The foundation stone of its building was laid in 1892, and since then it has formed an important residential unit in the University of Allahabad.

In 1886 Sami'ullah Khan was elected President of the first Session of Muhammadan Educational Congress later the All India Muslim Educational Conference held at Aligarh. He delivered a brief but forceful address in which he made a reference to the role of education in the growth of civilization. Whatever their achievements in the past, he said, the Muslims were far behind other peoples in the field of education. The best way of improving their condition was to enable the Muslim leaders to assemble under the auspices of a Congress and exchange their ideas and views on educational problems. He said "There can be not doubt that it will be highly advantageous for our nation if our people meet together and decide upon policies for educational development and progress after mutual discussions and deliberations. To achieve this purpose there could be no better means than the establishment of the Congress which is holding its Inaugural Session today."¹ Sami'ullah Khan deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of Muslim education in the subcontinent. Like Syed Ahmed Khan he had received his education under the old system. He did not participate in the War of Independence, but the hardships to which the Muslims were subjected left deep scars on his mind. The remedy, according to him, lay in Muslim cooperation with the established Government and the popularization

¹ *Khutbat i 'Aliyah*, p. 37.

of modern education. He, therefore, placed himself at the disposal of Syed Ahmed Khan and worked with him for many years. During this period his contribution to the progress of the Aligarh Movement and the development of the College was of considerable importance.

The main figure in the movement after Syed Ahmed's death was Mohsin-ul-Mulk whose name was Mahdi 'Ali Khan. He was born in Etawah on 9 December, 1857, in a family which had no traditions of education and learning; his father was not a literate person. But the young Mahdi was fortunate because his maternal uncle made necessary arrangements for his education. Intelligent and hard-working, he was soon able to complete the usual course of studies provided by the old type of schools in those days. Arabic and Persian languages along with theological disciplines were the main constituents of this course, and in these Mahdi 'Ali is stated to have obtained efficiency. He joined Government service in the collectorate of Etawah and accepted a minor post with ten rupees as his monthly salary. But it was not long before he was raised to the post of *Sarishtahdar* by Mr. Hume who was Collector of the district. In 1861 he was promoted to the post of a *Tahsildar* and six years later became a Deputy Collector which in those days, was the highest office that Indians could aspire for in the executive branch of the administration. In 1874 he resigned from the Government service, because he was offered a post in Hyderabad State. For this he had been recommended by Syed Ahmed Khan. He remained there for twenty years and gradually rose to the important office of Political and Financial Secretary. In appreciation of his meritorious services the Government of Hyderabad conferred on him the title of *Munir Nawaz Jang*.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk had great influence over '*Imad-us-*

Saltanat, Chief Minister of the State, and was able to introduce a number of reforms in its administration. His tact and ability were put to a severe test when the relations of the young Nizam and his Minister became embittered. The Nizam wanted to take the extreme step of removing '*Imad-us-Saltanat* and appointing Sir Kurshid Jah in his place. The Government of India was not prepared to accept the Minister's dismissal. Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, went to Hyderabad and had to intervene in person. But even he was not successful in bringing about a conciliation between the Ruler and his Minister. It was at this juncture that Mohsin-ul-Mulk succeeded in bringing their differences to an end,¹ but the conciliation was short-lived. In 1887 Mohsin-ul-Mulk successfully persuaded '*Imad-us-Saltanat* to resign. On relinquishing the charge of his office he expressed his appreciation of Mohsin-ul-Mulk's services in very clear words. "Now that I have been relieved of my official duties", he wrote to him, "I think it proper that I should offer my thanks to you for the valuable assistance which I received from you during the three years of my ministership. You always tendered me honest and correct advice, and on many occasions when there was a difference in viewpoints I always felt that you had expressed your opinions frankly It is beyond my power to say anything about your qualities which are well-known to the people of Hyderabad and which His Highness the Resident and the Government of India also know fully well."²

In 1888, Mahdi 'Ali Khan went to England on State business and stayed there for several months. It was during his visit to England that he published an article

¹ Sarwar-ul-Mulk, *My Life* (Hyderabad).

² Zuberi, Muhammad Amin, *Tazkirah i Mohsin* (Aurangabad, 1935), p. 18.

in the *Nineteenth Century* in defence of the Native States. In fact it was a reply to the strictures which Sir Lappel Griffin had passed in a lecture delivered by him at the Colonial Institute. Among other points discussed by Griffin was the question of the loyalty of the Muslims. He had expressed the view that because of the teachings of their religion the Muslims could not be loyal to the British Government. Mahdi 'Ali Khan emphatically refuted the view and said that as long as the Government did not interfere in the performance of their religious duties the Muslims could have no legal justification for *jihad* against their rulers. He also made pointed references to the loyalty of the Nizam and his services to the British Government, particularly in the days of the great Revolt of 1857. The article was appreciated and admired in many quarters including Government circles, and Griffin had to apologize for certain portions of his lecture in a private letter to Colonel Marshall. Mohsin-ul-Mulk retired from the service of Hyderabad State in 1893 and decided to settle at Aligarh. Mohsin-ul-Mulk had associated himself with the Aligarh Movement from the very outset. He helped Syed Ahmed and strengthened his hands not only by donating and collecting money for the College, but also by writing articles and delivering speeches in his favour. His contributions to the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* created a deep impression on its readers and went a long way to popularize the new Movement. "He used to reply to the criticisms on Syed Ahmed", says Maulana Zakauddin, "in so attractive and humorous a style and with such eloquence that his opponents became dumb founded and could say nothing."¹ On his permanently settling at Aligarh he could devote his entire time and energy to the cause of education. He soon realized that he could do much valuable work by putting

¹ *Khushba* / *'Allyah*, p. 75.

fresh vigour into the activities of the Muslim Educational Conference which was not receiving the attention it needed, because of Syed Ahmed's other preoccupations in his last years. On the latter's death Mohsin-ul-Mulk was elected Secretary. He was not a stranger to the Conference; he had presided over two of its Sessions in 1893 and 1896, and was full of hopes about its future. He toured the neighbouring districts and addressed gatherings of them. His speeches and writings stirred them. The programme and activities of the Conference began to attract the attention of the Muslims of different Provinces. They began to realize that the Conference was a useful organization. This is indicated by the fact that its Sessions were now invited by different Provinces. Of the ten Sessions held in the time of Syed Ahmed (1886-96) only one¹ had met outside the United Provinces. During the next ten years five Sessions were held in other Provinces.²

The scope of the activities of the Conference also began to widen. As early as 1899 a resolution was passed in the Calcutta Session emphasizing the need of opening Islamia schools in each district or group of districts. This resolution and the efforts of the Conference bore fruit and Islamia schools began to be established in important cities and towns in different parts of the subcontinent. It is a pity that Mohsin-ul-Mulk could not devote himself entirely to education. In the opening year of the new century Urdu-Hindi controversy started in consequence of Macdonal's pro-Hindi policy in the United Provinces. This created great difficulties for Mohsin-ul-Mulk and made his work extremely difficult.

The growing influence of the communal element

¹ In Lahore in 1888.

² In Lahore (1898), Calcutta (1899), Madras (1901), Bombay (1903) and Dacca (1906).

in Hindu life had created a new situation and with it fresh problems for the Muslims. Mohsin-ul-Mulk was not slow to realize that Syed Ahmed's policy of concentrating on education to the exclusion of politics would be suicidal. His role in organizing the right of separate electorates for the Muslims is one of the most important chapters in the history of our political evolution. No single person deserves more credit for this achievement than Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Literary expression in Urdu owes its modern form to the creative and critical genius of Sir Syed and his followers. They were not merely authors, poets, critics, stylists or linguists but the pioneers of a movement for the renaissance of the Muslim people of the subcontinent. Poetry, criticism and essays were neither a pastime for them nor a profession. Literature was but one of the many means to achieve their great object of the regeneration of the nation. To that end they dedicated their lives and concentrated all their efforts on the realisation of that aim.

The story of the decline of Muslim power and the deterioration in the moral fibre of Muslim nation has been narrated elsewhere in this book. Its foundations were shaken to an extent that there seemed to be no hope of resuscitation. The final collapse and destruction seemed to be only a matter of time. The decline of political power, the economical and social malice brought about by the capture of power by a commercial Company and the forces let loose by anarchy were hardly conducive to any progress in the field of education and solid intellectual achievement. The age-old system of education laying special emphasis on philosophy, religion, ethics and literature had received patronage from the monarchs and their nobles. These patrons now found themselves caught up in circums-

tances where they could no longer offer traditional patronage. Nor could a middle class reduced to desperate circumstances sustain it. The common man found his opiate in stark ignorance; this made him indifferent to his own condition and the world around him. The old *madrasahs*, *khanqahs* and *maktabs* lay deserted.

There was another difficulty. The centuries-old system of education needed a change to meet the demands of a new age. The advent of British rule had brought in new ideas. There was a clash between the oriental and western outlooks on life. Western science and learning were fast replacing traditional education in the subcontinent. The people, however, were not prepared to accept them. They were suspicious. The encouragement of Christian missionary activities by the Government, the nature of the instruction imparted in English schools and the methods adopted by the teachers for the propagation of Christianity were the causes of Muslim antipathy towards the new education. Its strong missionary bias was the main reason why the Muslims kept away from it.

The aftermaths of the suppression of the War of Independence are too well-known to be repeated here. It may be mentioned that the religious leaders and literary figures suffered along with other classes of Muslims. It was proved that the divines and scholars at Delhi had put their seal on a ruling which appeared in Delhi a few days before the struggle actually began. When peace was ultimately restored, these '*ulama* were called upon to answer the charges of sedition and of actually helping the rebels. They were not even given a chance to prove their innocence and were condemned to death or imprisonment for life. Imam Bakhsh *Sahba'i*, the eminent scholar and poet, was shot dead; so was Maulawi Baqar, the father of the renowned Urdu scholar

and stylist, Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad. Mufti Sadr-ud-din *Azurdah* who at one time had enjoyed the confidence of the British was thrown behind the bars, so was Nawab Mustafa Khan *Shiftah*, the renowned scholar, poet and critic and patron of *Ghalib* and *Hali*. Maulana Fazl i Haq Khairabadi, a renowned scholar of Arabic, *Qur'an*, *hadis* and *fiqh* was awarded transportation for life. Maulana Fazl i Haq wrote a short treatise on the War of Independence during the period of his imprisonment in the Andamans.¹ In this book he analysed the charges against himself. In the course of this analysis he says "My only crime was that I persisted in my faith and Islam and was looked upon as a Muslim theologian". So terrible was the vengeance perpetrated by the British that no contemporary Muslim historian had the courage to record a true account of these events. This fear continued for a considerable period. We have to search for these facts in unpublished autobiographies, diaries and letters. They are sometimes hidden in veiled references, or in metaphors and similes of the poets.

This was really a great ordeal for the Muslims. The last shadow of their Empire was gone. They were left politically defeated, mentally crushed and morally degraded. The English did not trust them. Their Hindu countrymen who had lived for over 800 years under their rule rejoiced in the change of masters and looked down upon them with contempt. The Muslims had held high hopes of receiving timely help from Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey. They had even hoped for intervention by France and Russia. These hopes proved to be false. Help came from no quarter

¹ It was brought to the subcontinent by Mufti 'Inayat Ahmad of Kakori, who was for some time a co-prisoner of the author. It was published with an Urdu translation by Madinah Press, Bijnor, in 1947. For an English translation by Dr. S. Moimul Haq see, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VI.

and no one did even as much as offer lip consolation. They were condemned, they were abused and insulted and had to bear all the shame and degradation without sympathy from any quarter. This was the end of the glorious rule of the Muslims in India. The Muslims who had given to this subcontinent their life-blood and had nurtured a great culture were now in danger of total annihilation.

The condition of the Muslims of India during the latter part of the nineteenth century has sometimes been compared to an old damaged boat caught up in the storm and with no one on the board to guide it safely to the shore. It required a man of courage and ripe experience, a leader with understanding and foresight, a reformer with zeal and enthusiasm, a pilot equipped with knowledge and above all a person endowed with the spirit of sacrifice and service. Such was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. To his efforts, more than to any other factor, the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent owe their regeneration. He devoted his life to the service of his nation, a nation which was not always grateful. He was a reformer and like all other reformers he had to face the opposition of the conservative and reactionary forces. He was regarded as an agent of the English, a time-server and enemy of Islam, even an infidel. Unmindful of such criticism he worked with the spirit of a true missionary and ultimately succeeded in launching the Aligarh Movement.

Hali was closely associated with Sir Syed in his great work. Perhaps not quite so close to him as Mohsin-ul-Mulk, yet he was sufficiently near him to be one of his chief helpers and to give us an excellent biography of Sir Syed in his *Hayat i Jawid*. Because of his own accomplishments as a poet, the creator of a new style in poetry, a great critic, biographer, essay-writer and stylist, he has his own niche in history.

Hali has left a brief sketch of his early life for us.

His name was Altaf Husain; he was born in Panipat, the famous site of three historic battles ; he came of a noble Ansari family of the town. Among his ancestors Khwajah Malik 'Ali had migrated from Herat to India during the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban and settled down at Panipat. He was renowned for his piety and learning and the Sultan bestowed upon him a grant of land. Until the time of *Hali's* father, Khwajah Azad Bakhsh, the family lived in ease and comfort. Then followed the difficult period of poverty and want. Azad Bakhsh died in 1846 when Altaf Husain was barely 9 years old. Naturally the entire burden of bringing up and educating Altaf Husain should have fallen upon his mother, but unfortunately she was of infirm health and suffered from some mental disease. She could hardly look after her son who was left to the care of his elder brother and sister. The family tried to give some traditional education to young Altaf Husain which included Arabic and Persian. He learnt the *Qur'an* by heart at an early age. In 1854, *Hali* went to Delhi for further education; amongst his teachers there he mentions Maulawi Nawazish 'Ali from whom he learnt logic, philosophy, theology, literature and prosody. But the studies were abruptly disturbed by financial difficulties and Altaf Husain had to take up an appointment in the Collector's office at Hissar. The Revolution of 1857 disrupted his career and he had to retire to Panipat for safety. He was out of employment for a number of years and stayed at home until circumstances forced him to move out and again seek employment elsewhere. As he has himself related he was fortunate in being introduced to Nawab Mustafa Khan *Shifteh*, who was a great scholar and a poet. Among other Mirza Asadullah Khan *Ghalib*, the eminent Urdu poet, was also attached to him. Nawab *Shifteh* had a refined taste for poetry and was a sound critic. Both *Ghalib* and *Hali*

have spoken highly of his accomplishments. His *tazkirah* of poets, *Gulshan i be Khar* contains his estimation of the poems of many Urdu poets. His notes are regarded as models of well-balanced criticism.

Hali stayed with Nawab Mustafa Khan *Shifstah* for about 8 years and after his death migrated to Lahore. Ultimately he succeeded in securing a post in the Government Book Depot at Lahore. Lahore at that time was the centre of a new movement led by Dr. G.W. Liteuer, the famous philologist and scholar, the first Principal of Government College, Lahore (founded in 1864), and Colonel W.R.N. Holroyd, the Director of Education in Panjab. In a report presented in 1873 to the Houses of Parliament by command of Queen Victoria, we find the following statements about this movement: "Dr. Liteuer began by endeavouring to arouse a spirit of self-reliance among the natives especially among their natural leaders—the chiefs, the priests, and the wealthier merchants. He founded an association—The Anjuman i Punjab—for the diffusion of useful knowledge, the discussion of the subjects and possessing literary and scientific interests, and for the very expression of native opinion on questions of social and political reform. The Association flourished and spread throughout the province. It opened a free public library, and a free reading room and popular lectures and recitation of native poets were before long added to its other attractions."

Among the native poets referred to by Dr. Liteuer, Mohammad Husain *Azad* and Altaf Husain *Hali* were the most outstanding. Through the efforts of Holroyd, symposiums of poets were organised and breaking with the old established practice in such symposia, all the poets recited lyrics on the prosodical pattern of a given line, poems of a descriptive, narrative or philosophical condition were read out. This diverted, to some extent, the attention of literary circles from lyrical poetry and

strengthened the tradition of poetry being used as a vehicle for more varied themes.

Hali's stay at Lahore, though short, proved fruitful. During his employment at the Government Book Depot he was introduced to Western thought through translations in Urdu which he was given to revise. Here he gained his first insight into Western philosophy of poetry and literary criticism. His quotations of Wordsworth, Byron, Shelly, Milton and others occurring in his famous *Muqaddimah Shi'r o Sha'iri* are an indication of this influence upon his views.

His merit did not receive due recognition at Lahore and, therefore, he decided to return to Delhi as a teacher in the Anglo Arabic School. It was during this period that he was introduced to Syed Ahmed Khan who infused new ideals in him. *Hali* was so attracted to Sir Syed that for the rest of his life he was closely associated with him and his Movement. Sir Syed introduced him to Nawab Sir Asman Jah, a Minister in the Nizam Government and through his efforts the Nizam granted to him a small pension of Rs. 75/- p.m. which was later raised to Rs. 100/-. Ten years before his death the British Government recognised his merit and conferred upon him the title of Shams-ul-'Ulama in 1904. The death of Syed Ahmed Khan was a great shock to him in 1898 and although he survived for another 16 years his heart was broken and he practically lived in retirement at Panipat where he died in 1914 at the ripe age of 77.

Hali's contributions to Urdu language and literature are great indeed. He is acknowledged as the "father of modern literary criticism". His *Muqaddimah* which is really the introduction to the collection of his poems, is regarded as one of the basic books on literary criticism in Urdu. Literary appreciation has a long history both in Persian and Urdu; we find poetry and prose writers

expressing their opinions on what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable in literature. We find notes of appreciation by contemporary writers published as supplement to books. We have also a number of anthologies of Persian and Urdu poems including the compilers' appreciation or criticism of the various writers. *Hali's* work, however, falls into an entirely different category. He gives a comprehensive analysis of the nature of poetry the factors which contribute to its excellence; he gives a survey of some of the more important forms of Urdu poetry and their development and decay; he discusses the causes of its growth and decline; he has provided an estimation of contemporary poetry in the context of its impact upon thought and culture; he has suggested desirable changes in various forms and has come out with revolutionary ideas regarding a complete reorientation in its ideals and objectives. He had been brought up in the traditions of the old lyrical poetry which had been purely aesthetic in its aims and was cultivated for its own sake; he discarded this tradition and the philosophy underlying it and adopted the ideal of making art purposeful and endowing it with some aims and ideas. *Hali* may not be comparable to Aristotle or Plato but he has not yet been surpassed in originality in boldness of conception. His influence was profound; the orientation which he advocated has given us *Shibli*, *Akbar* and *Iqbal*. This demonstrates the influence of the *Muqaddimah* not only upon our poetry but also upon our national outlook and ideals.

A complete biography of *Hali* and a full estimate of his personality as a writer, poet, biographer, historian, essayist, thinker, critic and stylist still awaits a Boswell. It is an irony of fate that *Hali* whose life of Syed Ahmed Khan is the first landmark in Urdu biographical literature, did not have the good fortune of finding a suitable biographer for himself. There were men who had lived

with him, who knew him intimately, who benefitted from his company and who took pride in calling themselves his successors but none was inspired to write his life.

It is not the purpose of this short chapter to give a full appreciation of *Hali* as a poet and a critic. It is, therefore, necessary to limit the discussion to the role he played in the awakening of the Muslim people and in the formulation of their ideals.

As has been mentioned before, *Hali* started with traditional lyrical poetry. At Lahore he turned to other themes and wrote some long poems. One of these was on patriotism, to which he contributed the progress which the West had made. Soon afterwards his mind turned towards the composition of his masterpiece which is briefly known as *Hali's Musaddas*. The real title of the poem is *Musaddas i Madd o Jazar i Islam*. The *Musaddas* is really a form of poetry which is admirably suited for long poems. It consists of a series of stanzas each of which contains six lines, the first four rhyming with one another and the last two forming a rhyming couplet by themselves and crystalising the purport of the entire stanza. The last two lines thus produce the climax. The variety of the rhymes prevents monotony and the succession of the rhyming couplets maintains an atmosphere of suspense and expectation which makes the reader receptive to the ideas propounded. Like other forms the *Musaddas* was adopted by Urdu poets from Persian poetry but their attempts have produced some masterpieces far superior to any *Musaddas* in Persian. The elegies of Mir *Anis* and Mirza *Dabir* of Lucknow who adopted the *Musaddas* for their art, have no counterpart in Persian or, for that matter, in any other language. Eminent poets like *Mir*, *Sauda* and *Mir Hasan* used this form and later *Iqbal* wrote some of best poems in this form. For instance, his famous *Shikwah* and *Jawab i Shikwah* are *musaddases*.

Hali, however, presses the *Musaddas* into service for the regeneration of his people. He used it for arousing them from lethargy and for the creation of consciousness of their potentialities as contrasted with their decline and the plight in which they found themselves when the *Musaddas* was composed. There can be little doubt that *Hali* succeeded admirably in producing a great poem which electrified the Muslims of the subcontinent. He demonstrated how poetry could play a constructive and a dynamic role. The *Musaddas* came to be recited in every Muslim home; Muslim children learnt its more inspiring stanzas by heart; and religious assemblies were moved to tears by its inspiring principles. It succeeded in creating the scholarly atmosphere in which great emotions of national fervour are nurtured. It almost laid the foundations of a great revolution in the outlook of the Muslim people.

There can be little doubt that *Hali's Musaddas* is a great poem; its greatness rests upon solid foundations. *Hali* disdains the ordinary artifices of poetry which are the stock in trade of minor poets. His theme needs no such grudges. He depends upon his sincerity and depth of feeling for reaching the hearts of his readers. There is no exaggeration, no false note, nothing which can give a tinge of insincerity to what he says. His own emotions are so deeply involved that in giving expression to them he cannot fail to touch corresponding chords in the hearts of patriotic Muslims. This does not mean that there is no art in the *Musaddas*; all true art is self-effacing in the sense that it tries constantly to lie hidden beneath its creation. *Hali* has been deeply influenced in his technique by the great elegy writers, *Anis* and *Dabir*, who before him had demonstrated the capabilities of *Musaddas* for arousing emotions. Their two main themes were admiration for the bravery of the martyrs of Karbala and deep sorrow of the tragedy which over-

took them. *Hali* has applied this technique to the Muslim world community in the context of history. In a sense the advice is simple. He shows how degraded was life in Arabia before the advent of Islam. Then in some of the simplest and yet the most inspiring lines written about the Prophet, he describes his advent and mission. He moves on to the great transformation brought about by the Prophet's teachings and narrates the great achievements of the Muslims in various fields of life. He piles one achievement upon another to give the Muslims some idea of their past greatness and then he describes their decay, backwardness and helpless plight. This great contrast is a most eloquent commentary upon the deterioration in the condition of the Muslims, far from effective, than in rhetoric or lamentation. Unlike others *Hali* does not use past glories as an opiate nor decadence to nurture feelings of self-pity. The moral is writ large upon the poem though nowhere expressed in so many words. If Islam in conjunction with right effort can transform the barbarous pagan Arabs into the torch bearers of culture and civilization, can the Muslims not recapture their glory by defining their ideals in components with Islam and making the right endeavour in achieving them?

The most remarkable feature of the *Musaddas* is that it does not seek solace in blaming outsiders. In the brief introduction to the poem he blames the various sections of Muslim society itself for its degeneration, moral deterioration, selfishness, ignorance and conservativeness. In his opinion these were the main causes of the collapse of Muslim society. Referring to the topic in the poem itself, he deplores the tendency which the community had developed of ignoring some advice preferred by men of vision and considering it as irrelevant and unnecessary.

The *Musaddas* rightly named the flow and ebb of

Islam was at once hailed with enthusiasm. One of the earliest to praise it highly—indeed to become almost breathless in his appreciation of it—was Syed Ahmed Khan for whose Movement such a great contribution was of tremendous help. The first edition of the poem had ended on a strong note of pessimism; it was, as has been mentioned before an elegy on the departed glory of the Muslims. The plight of the nation did not justify any other ending. *Hali* had seen too much suffering especially during the War of Independence, to leave much optimism in his heart. The reception of the poem by the Muslims knowledge that he had castigated sections of Muslim society to arouse them to a sense of danger, created a new hope in him. A people which could take such criticism to heart and because of its truth appreciated it was not past all hope of redemption. In a subsequent edition, therefore, he added another poem on hope which was published as a supplement, thus counteracting such emotion of despair and despondency as might have paralysed the desire for effort and progress.

Succeeding generations have recognised the merit of the *Musaddas*. It is not merely a poem. It is a landmark in the history of the Muslims of the subcontinent. The *Musaddas i Hali* is the most important poem, by any means only one of that nature. His invocatory ode addressed to the Prophet was in the same vein and became almost equally popular. He has also composed poems which draw poignant attention to social evils and thus create a desire for reform. *Hali* was the child of the age in which he was born. He was sensitive to the many ills from which the Muslim nation of the subcontinent was suffering at that time and his heart bled for his people, but he did not lose himself in lamenting the departed glory or mourning the unpleasant present; he inspired a desire to redeem the past by building

a future. In this, so far as poetry was concerned, *Hali* was a pioneer and a torch bearer. Not only in the history of Urdu poetry but also in the annals of Indian Islam, *Hali* occupies an immortal position.

CHAPTER XXII

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

THE history of constitutional changes in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century is really the story of a trading company taking part in internecine warfare and obtaining territorial possessions and eventually offering the gift of an empire to the Queen of England in the year 1858.

The East India Company was incorporated on 31 December, 1600, by a Charter granted by the Queen of England¹ for the purposes of trading with the East. The Company's early ventures were directed in the Indonesian Archipelago which at that time formed the most lucrative field in eastern commerce. In 1608, an attempt was made to establish a factory in India. William Hawkins presented a petition to the Mughul Emperor in the year 1609. The petition was not accepted by Jahangir. At the end of 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was selected as the Resident Ambassador in the Court of Emperor Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe was a man of tact and was successful in getting grants from the Viceroy of Gujarat, Prince Khurram (later Emperor Shahjahan), which secured for the English the site of a factory at Surat. The Company established branches at Ahmadabad and Agra but the headquarters at Surat controlled the entire organisation.²

¹ *The Cambridge History of India*, V, 77.

² *Ibid.* p. 80.

The wealth and prosperity of the Mughul territories had become so widely known that nations in Europe started a race for reaching India at the earliest opportunity. During this process, the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese the Spaniards and the French, all took part and maintained fleets to protect their lines of communication. There was keen rivalry between the nations of Europe, which was reflected in their attitude towards one another on the territory of India.

During the last days of the Mughul Empire, the authority of the Emperor weakened considerably because of political intrigues, with the result that local chieftains consolidated their power at the expense of the Central Government. Their example was followed by the more ambitious among the Company's servants who started taking part in political manoeuvring. British soldiers also offered their services to various parties who employed them for their own ends.

In 1753, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, tried to limit the expansionist activities of the East India Company. Robert Clive, who was directing the affairs of the East India Company, engineered a plot against him by winning over the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief, Mir Ja'far. Clive was successful in his intrigues so that when the Nawab's army met the English forces at Plassey in 1757, Mir Ja'far refused to fight. He was rewarded by being proclaimed the Nawab of Bengal and Siraj-ud-Daulah became his prisoner.¹

After the Battle of Plassey, the East India Company obtained a foothold in the administration of the Mughul territories. Robert Clive increased the armed forces of the Company and made the new Nawab pay their expenses.

¹ Tabatabai, Ghulam Hussain, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirin* (Calcutta Edition), 11, 231.

In 1765, Clive obtained for the East India Company a right to collect taxes under a grant from the Mughul Emperor.¹ The success of the East India Company in Bengal greatly augmented the power of the Company in other areas of the subcontinent. The Dutch, the Portuguese and the French Companies were gradually reduced to impotence in south and west India; in the end only small coastal strips were left to them. Their influence was completely eliminated from the politics of the subcontinent by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Mughul Emperor was still the *de jure* Sovereign of India; the administration could only be carried on in his name. The real power passed into the hands of the Company whose servants acted in an irresponsible manner without any regard for principles of Government or the welfare of the people. The Nawab's authority was set at nought. Mir Ja'far had to issue *Parwanas* to his officials exempting from taxation whatever goods the Company's servants might bring or carry to and from their factories. Thus not only was the trade of the Company free from taxes but whatever the servants of the Company accumulated in their illegal trade was also not taxable. The instructions of Mir Ja'far were "whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have power to punish them." Such extraordinary concessions were bound to demoralize the servants of the East India Company as well as the officers of the Nawab. The local traders were the worst sufferers. The grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 further worsened the position. The Government in Bengal became totally irresponsible and corruption and bribery became rampant.

¹ *CHI*, V, 176.

Ibid. p. 22.

It was argued in the British Parliament that the East India Company could not assume, on behalf of the King of Britain, the privilege of collecting revenues of Bengal under the authority of the Emperor of India. The promoters of the East India Company naturally disputed the right of the Members of the Parliament to advance such arguments on the ground that they had obtained authority from the lawful Sovereign of India. It was under these circumstances that the Parliament in England passed the Regulating Act of 1773, which was the first Constitutional Act for British territories in the subcontinent and is commonly known as the Regulating Act. It was enacted for the purpose of "establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe." Its main provisions were:

(a) That for the government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal there shall be appointed a Governor-General and four Counsellors;¹

(b) That the whole civil and military Government of the said Presidency, and also the ordering, management and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa shall during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues shall remain in the possession of the said Unit Company be and are hereby vested in the said Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in like manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever as the same now or at any time heretofore might have been exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee in the said kingdom.

(c) That in all cases whatsoever wherein any difference of opinion shall arise upon any question proposed in

¹ Banerjee, A.C., *Indian Constitutional Documents* (Calcutta, 1948).

any consultation, the said Governor-General and Council shall be bound and concluded by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present; and if it shall happen that, by the death or removal, or by the absence, of any of the Members of the said Council, such Governor-General and Council shall happen to be equally divided; then, and in every such case, the said Governor-General, or, in his absence, the eldest counsellor present, shall have a casting voice, and his opinion shall be decisive and conclusive.

This Act attempted to legislate for the Government of Bengal. The transformation of the East India Company from a commercial into a political body had resulted in a multitude of abuses. The Company's servants were obsessed with the desire of acquiring riches swiftly and resisted any attempts to hinder their corrupt practices. Clive himself had led the way by taking presents after Plassey and accepting a *jagir* from Mir Ja'far.¹

The Regulating Act prohibited the acceptance by the Governor-General or the Members of the Council or the Judges "from any person or persons in any manner or on any account whatsoever, any present, gift, donation, gratuity, or rewards pecuniary or otherwise, or any promise or engagement for any present, gift, donation, gratuity or reward."

The Governor-General, Members of the Council and Judges were made subject to indictment before the Court of King's Bench in England. It was on account of this Act that Clive and Warren Hastings were tried for offences against the public.

The Regulating Act of 1773 made important changes in the constitution of East India Company. The qualification to vote in the Court of Proprietors was

¹ Malleon, G. B., *Lord Clive* (Rulers of India Series, Oxford, 1895), pp. 123-24.

raised from £ 500 to £ 1,000 and restricted to those who had held their stock for twelve months. The Directors were elected for four years and one-fourth of them were made to retire annually. A Governor-General and four Councillors were appointed by the Act. They were vested with the direction of all civil and military matters pertaining to the administration of East India Company. The Regulating Act refrained from defining the nature and extent of authority claimed or exercised by the Crown over the Company in their new territories on the ground that the legal authority vested in the Mughul Emperor and the East India Company acted as their revenue-collecting agency in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The territorial expansion of the East India Company had, however, the full support of the Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The East India Company paid annual tribute to the Mughul Emperor. From 1765 onwards the seal of the Governor-General described him as a servant of the Mughul Emperor. The coinage was struck in the name of the Mughul Emperor and in international and inter-state discussions, the British did not claim sovereignty except in Calcutta.

The Regulating Act made provision for the first Governor-General and the Councillors who were to hold office for five years. They were removable by the Crown and a casual vacancy could be filled by the Court of Directors with the consent of the Crown.

The Governor-General-in-Council who had his headquarters in Calcutta had also authority over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Regulating Act thus established a nucleus of British Government in India in 1773.¹

¹ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, I, 18-27.

The passage of the Regulating Act had given the Parliament of England the first opportunity to inquire into the Company's political and financial position. Select and Secret Committees were appointed and, before the Act was actually passed, the Committees had elicited much evidence regarding Clive's administration which brought discredit to him and his subordinates. The Regulating Act had set up a new Council, which consisted of four Members, three of whom had been sent out from London. Warren Hastings who was Governor of Fort William since 1772 now became Governor-General. This Council at Fort William also was granted the authority to supervise the conduct of the other territories under the administrative control of the East India Company. A special Court was established under the Royal authority at Calcutta and empowered to try cases.¹ The Mughul Emperor, who had granted the *Diwani* to the East India Company, insisted on the payment of an annual subsidy of Rs. 26 lakhs a year. Warren Hastings made desperate efforts to collect this money by whichever source he could obtain it.

Nand Kumar charged Warren Hastings with corruption and bribery and pointed out a specific case of his receipt of illegal gratification from Munni Begam, Mir Ja'far's wife and obtained a favourable vote in the Council against the Governor-General. Nand Kumar, however, was accused of forgery, tried with unusual haste and executed.²

The political situation in the subcontinent was rapidly changing during these years. The Mughul Emperor had become weak and the Rohillas and the Nawab Wazirs of Oudh in the north, the Marathas in the west and the Nizam and Haider 'Ali in the south were

¹ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² Keith, A.B., *A Constitutional History of India* (London, 1937), pp. 76-7 and 85.

trying to obtain for themselves as much power as possible. The East India Company, under Warren Hastings, not only consolidated their power but also extended it considerably. The responsibilities of the East India Company increased immensely and the British Parliament thought it necessary to pass the Pitt's India Act in 1784, which established a Board of Control for the territories of the East India Company.¹ The sovereignty of the Mughul Emperor was not touched. The Regulating Act and the subsequent legislation merely tended to place the affairs of the East India Company on a firmer basis.

In 1786, another Act was passed to enlarge the powers of the Governor-General; he was authorized to override the majority of this Council and to act on his own responsibility in special cases.² In the same year, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of the territories under the East India Company. The period between 1786 and 1813 is marked by wars and expansion of the dominion of the East India Company. However, no attempt was made to assert British sovereignty over the Company's possessions.

European adventurers used to lend money to Indian Princes at exorbitant rates and on unfair conditions. Some Indian rulers were completely demoralized under the pressure of these usurers. Burke's speech on the debts of the Nawab of Arcot exposed the conditions prevailing during the Company's administration: the British Parliament, in consequence, passed an Act in 1797 prohibiting the grant of loans by British subjects to Indian Princes. Directions were also issued that all the regulations issued by the Governor-General-in-Council should be registered in the Law Department

¹ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-81.

² *CHI*, V, p. 203.

of the Government of Bengal. Up-till then there was no codification of these regulations.¹

The growing strength of the East India Company made other powers in India, particularly the Marathas and Tipu Sultan, suspicious. The British Parliament, however, encouraged the East India Company by passing an Act in 1799, authorising it to raise troops under the aegis of the Crown. All these men were to be trained in England and equipped by the British Government. The British Government, therefore, had, by 1799, become sure of a bright political future in the Indian subcontinent for the East India Company. While other powers and chieftains in India fought among themselves, the army of the Company received further reinforcements in men and equipment from the mother country. The French Revolution and the ultimate defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte had encouraged the British Government in England to come openly in the field and try for territorial expansion. In 1803, the Company's forces under Lord Lake were able to march into Delhi by a subterfuge and took the person of the Emperor in their custody. The Company's headquarters, however, remained at Calcutta, but the influence of the East India Company in North India became established. The idea of territorial expansion and domination in Indian politics had taken root in the hearts of statesmen in Great Britain and the British Government began taking away the administrative power gradually from the East India Company.

In 1798, the British Government appointed Lord Wellesley as Governor-General. Lord Wellesley induced the Indian rulers into an alliance with the East India Company by which they were offered the services of British soldiers in lieu of co-operation in external affairs. In the words of an English author: "The vigorous policy of annexation carried on by Lord Wellesley during his seven years' tenure of office (1798-1805) had again in-

¹ Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

volved the company in financial difficulties.”

In 1813, the Charter Act was reviewed and the powers of the East India Company were curtailed. The monopoly of Indian trade came directly under the control of the British Parliament. The Company fought for their privileges and monopolies. The officers of the Company did their best to maintain their corrupt practices and dodge the Acts of Parliament passed from time to time to salvage the reputation of the British. The Charter Act,¹ *inter alia*:

- (i) affirmed the existing rights of the Company for a period of 20 years;
- (ii) gave equal rights of trade in India to all British subjects;
- (iii) retained with the East India Company the right of appointment to the offices of the Governor-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, but compelled the Company to submit accounts to the British Parliament;
- (iv) established Church Missions in the British territories in India; and
- (v) set up Colleges for the training of Civil servants of the Company at Calcutta and Madras.

The Charter Act of 1813 was the first comprehensive document that dealt with the many aspects of the Company's administration. While the British Parliament was hammering out schemes to consolidate the administration, Lord Wellesley started a policy of British domination over Indian Rulers. His Subsidiary Alliances were well calculated for this purpose. The swiftness of his strokes inspired terror in the hearts of the local princes and the East India Company came out, as a result of these manoeuvres, the most important territorial Power in the whole of the sub-

¹ Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-129.

continent.

Till 1813, the assertion of British sovereignty over the territories under the administrative control of the East India Company was spasmodic and incomplete. In that year Lord Moira was appointed Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. Lord Moira was a soldier and came into conflict with the Gurkhas who were defeated, and Kumaon, along with Garhwal, was added to the territories of the East India Company. In the wake of the Gurkha War came the more serious problem of the Marathas. Lord Moira was successful against them as well. An English writer says, "Perhaps nothing illustrates more forcefully the political imbecility into which India had fallen than that the Hindu power which had risen after the fall of the Mughul Empire should have proved to be utterly incapable of uniting in the face of the foreign power." The settlement of 1818 with the Marathas really marks the beginning of the predominance of the East India Company. Lord Wellesley wanted the whole of India to come under the tutelage of the Company while Lord Moira confined himself to the regions which came under its direct administrative control. Lord Moira believed in consolidation rather than in expansion. His chief aim was to extinguish the fiction of the supremacy of the Mughul Empire and of the subordination of the Company to the Mughul Government. Up-till now the Governor-General was shown as the servant of the Mughul Emperor and he was obliged to offer *nazr*. Lord Moira tried to stop sending these gifts to the Mughul Emperor.¹ In 1827 another Governor-General, Lord Amherst, was, however, able to induce Akbar II to grant him special privileges.²

¹ *CHI*, V, 605-606.

² *Ibid.*, p. 606.

The Governor-General was allowed to sit by the side of the Emperor in the open *Darbar*. Successive Governor-Generals tried to curtail the authority of the Mughul Emperor and also to reduce his dignity as much as they could.

By 1813 effort was made by the East India Company to set up a uniform system of administration in various parts of its possessions. In Bengal there was a permanent settlement of the *zamindaris*. In Madras, however, the system of collecting the revenue directly from the tenants was adopted. In 1816 several regulations introducing these changes were passed into law. The magistracy was given the control of the police. Village headmen were given powers to try petty suits. The Charter Act of 1813 had abolished the monopoly of British trade with India and China.

Between 1813 and 1833 several minor Acts were passed by the Parliament, primarily to consolidate the position of the East India Company in the territories administered by them. This was a period of warfare and saw considerable expansion of the territories of the East India Company. From 1820 the Governor-General of India insisted that the Chief Ministers in the major Indian States should be persons enjoying his confidence. There were troubles in Hyderabad and Gwalior, but they were suppressed.

In 1833 the Company's Charter was again renewed. By this time Bentham's views on Government and codification of laws had come to hold the field. An inquiry was made by the Parliament into the administration of India, following which the Government of India Act 1833 was passed. It provided for the inclusion of an additional Member in the Council of India and, with the appointment of Lord Macaulay the Council undertook legislative activities on a much larger scale. The territorial possessions of the Company were allowed to

remain with it for another twenty years; ¹ but soon after, with the expansion of the Company's territories, the question of the assumption of the administration by the British Crown was seriously discussed.

The Charter Act of 1853 considerably improved the legislative organs created by the Act of 1833. The patronage of the East India Company over the chartered Civil Service was finally removed, and it was thrown open for competition. All British subjects were given permission to trade in Indian territories without the requirement of any licence. There was, however, one difference between this Charter and the previous one inasmuch as it did not fix any definite term for the continuance of the power of the Company. The Act placed the fourth Member of the Governor-General-in-Council on the same footing as the other three. The Council was re-constituted and now consisted of twelve Members, including the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief Justice of Bengal. The sittings of the Council were made public and their proceedings were officially published.

An Act was passed in 1854 which empowered the Governor-General-in-Council "with the sanction of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, to take by proclamation under his immediate authority and management any part of the territories for the time being in the possession or under the Government of East India Company, and thereupon to give all necessary orders and directions respecting the administration of that part, or otherwise provide for its administration." So far the Acts passed by the British Parliament were limited to proclamation in the territories over which the East India Company held powers of administration. It seems that the East India Company continued to

¹ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, I, 192-220.

expand and obtain greater privileges from the Mughul Emperor and since the administrative machinery became unwieldy, the British Parliament came to its rescue by such regulations as were thought in the best interests of the East India Company and Great Britain.

After 1833, the coinage of the East India Company did not bear the inscription of the Mughul Emperor but only the effigy of the British Monarch. It was seriously discussed among the leaders of British opinion whether the British Sovereign should formally replace the Mughul Emperor. Lord Lake had already taken the Emperor into his custody in 1803 and had shown that the forces of the East India Company could capture the Capital itself without serious repercussions. Dalhousie advocated the deposition of the Mughul Emperor and the formal annexation of the whole of India. There was opposition to this policy in many quarters but Lord Dalhousie's rapid annexations reduced the opposition at home and increased alarm in many Indian quarters, which ultimately created a crisis.

The deposed Princes had considerable support in their own territories. The people of the subcontinent felt the effects of the continuous draining of their resources. No effort was made to ameliorate their condition. Only the tentacles of foreign rule were being gradually spread all round. The discontent flared up into the War of Independence (1857-59) to put an end to the source of all the trouble. Many Muslim and Hindu patriots rose in revolt and many Indian soldiers who were serving in the army of the East India Company felt the urge to join their countrymen in preventing the foreign rulers from doing further mischief. They resolved to re-establish the authority of the Mughul Emperor who was the *de jure* Sovereign of the subcontinent. A large section of freedom loving people supported the move to re-establish the Mughul

Emperor's authority and liberate the subcontinent from the bondage of foreign rule. This effort has been described by English historians as "the Mutiny" of the Indian soldiers; actually it was a War of Independence fought by the people. This spontaneous effort could not be properly organised in time and the Company's forces emerged victorious. The Mughul Emperor lost the War and the British wreaked horrible vengeance upon the people. The Mughul Sovereign was sent as a prisoner to Rangoon. With the disappearance of the Mughul Rule, the East India Company's administration also came to an end. The British Crown stepped in and proclaimed India as a British Dependency.

The Government of India Act, 1858, which "transferred"¹ the authority from the East India Company to the Crown made far-reaching constitutional changes. India was now to be governed directly by and in the name of the Crown. The Preamble of the Act stated:

"Whereas by the Government of India Act, 1858, the territories in the possession and under the Government in trust for Her Majesty, until Parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that Act, and of other Acts referred to are held by the said Company in trust for Her Majesty for the purpose of the said

¹ The Government of the territories now in the possession or under the Government of the East India Company and all powers in relation to Government vested in, or exercised by, the said Company in trust for Her Majesty shall cease to be vested in, or exercised by, the said Company;

And all territories in the possession or under the Government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this Act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in Her Majesty, and be exercised in her name;

India shall be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty &c.

And all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this Act had not been passed shall and may be exercised by and in the name of Her Majesty as rights incidental to the Government of India;

And all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said Company if this Act had not been passed shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the Government of India alone, subject to the provisions of this Act.

Government.”

A Secretary of State was appointed for India and he took the place both of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. There was to be a Council of 16 Members to advise the Secretary of State ; 9 of these Councillors were appointed by the Crown and 7 elected, in the first instance, by the Directors of the East India Company. The Members of the Council were to hold office during good behaviour and could be removed on an address by both the Houses of Parliament. A majority of these Members had to be those who had served India for at least 10 years. The relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Members of his Council were not defined.

The Council was made responsible for conducting the business transacted in the United Kingdom regarding the Government of India. The property of the East India Company was transferred to the Crown. The Board of Control was formally abolished. All the Military and Naval forces of the Company were transferred to the Crown. Some of the European troops refused to acknowledge the transfer and they were discharged. In fact all the armies of the East India Company were merged into the military force of the Crown.

On 1 August, 1861, the Indian Councils Act of 1861 was passed into Law. It was “an Act to make better provision for the Constitution of the Council of the Governor-General of India and for the local Government of the several Presidencies and Provinces of India and for the temporary Government of India in the event of vacancy in the office of the Governor-General.” The first provision of this Act related to the composition of the Council of the Governor-General in India. There were to be five ordinary Members of the said Council while the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty’s Forces in India was to be an Extraordinary Member of the

Council having the rank and precedence at the Council Board, next only to the Governor-General. The Governor-General was to make rules for the conduct of the business of the Council. In addition to these Members, the Governor-General was authorised to nominate not less than 6 and not more than 12 Members to the Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations. Not less than one half of persons so nominated were to be non-officials. The term of such Members was two years. In the absence of the Governor-General or of the President of the Council who was to be nominated by the Governor-General, the senior ordinary Member of the Council was empowered to preside. Whenever any law or regulation was made by the Council, the assent of the Governor-General to such law and regulation was essential. The laws promulgated by the Government of India were only to be assented to by the Governor-General in the name of Her Majesty. The Crown, however, had powers to disallow laws and regulations made at such meetings. Another power of making laws, commonly known as the ordinance-making power, was also conferred upon the Governor-General by this Statute. It was said that "it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in cases of emergency, to make and promulgate from time to time ordinances for the peace and good government and the safety of the Government of any said territory or any part thereof". While the Crown had the power to disallow such laws and regulations it was laid down that no law or regulation would be held invalid by reason only that it affected the prerogative of the Crown.

The British administrators in India had always made distinction between regulation and non-regulation parts of their territory. In the regulation areas, there were regular laws and enactments ; in the non-regulation provinces rules were issued by the Governor or the

Lieutenant-Governor as the case arose. While the Governor-General had power to frame rules of conduct of business of Government at the Centre the Governors of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were given similar power to frame rules for the conduct of business of their Council. This power continued till 1947.

The Provincial Governor had also powers to nominate members of their Council and the same set of rules and regulations which governed the administrative machinery at the Centre were made for the Provinces. The Governor-General, however, had the overriding power to veto legislation in the provincial sphere. The idea of Provincial Autonomy had not been conceived. The Councils Act of 1861 accepted distinction between Presidencies and non-Presidency Provinces. The heads of the administration in the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were known as Governors while those in other areas as Lieutenant-Governors. But in the exercise of their authority *vis-a-vis* their Councils, no distinction was recognised.¹

In 1865, another Government of India Act was passed empowering the Governor-General of India to make laws and regulations for all British subjects of Her Majesty within the Princely States in India in alliance with Her Majesty whether in the service of the Government of India or otherwise. The power to redistribute Provinces was vested in the Governor-General of India in Council. They could change the territorial limits of any Province.

In 1869 another Government of India Act was passed to amend in certain respects the former Act for the better Government of India. It dealt with the appointment of Members of the Secretary of State in Council

¹ Banerjee, *op. cit.*, 31-52.

and their term of office was extended to 10 years. The appointment of ordinary Members of the Governor-General's Council and the Members of the Council of several Presidencies was vested in Her Majesty the Queen by warrant under Royal Sign Manual. The power of the Secretary of State for India to appoint Members of his Council and to reappoint them practically gave overriding powers to him *vis-a-vis* his Council, and it seems that after this Act was passed, disagreement between the Council and the Secretary of State practically disappeared. The changes effected in the composition of the Secretary of State's Council were followed by changes in the structure of the Governor-General's Council and, therefore, an Act, to define the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council at meetings for making laws and regulations for certain purposes, was passed. It was known as the Indian Councils Act, 1869 (32 and 33 Victoria, Ch. 98). Under this Act, the Governor-General-in-Council was given power to make laws and regulations for all persons being native Indian subjects of Her Majesty beyond the Indian territories.

In 1870 another Indian Councils Act (32 Victoria, Ch. 3) was passed "to make better provision for making laws and regulations for certain parts of India and for certain other purposes relating thereto." Under this Act the Secretary of State in Council was authorised to withdraw from any Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Commissioner's power that had been conferred upon him. The Governor-General was given the power to override his Council if he thought that a certain law or regulation was not conducive to its safety and tranquillity or interests of the British possessions in India. The Governor-General had power to suspend and reject the measure in part or in whole, provided that two Members of the Council could suggest that the suspension, rejection or adoption as desired by the

Governor-General be notified to the Secretary of State for India. Between 1870 and 1892, a series of Acts were passed to regulate the procedure and the authority of the Members of the Council of the Governor-General and the Council of India.

Hitherto Indians were not appointed to positions of authority. In 1871, it was felt that the Indians should be associated with the administration and persons of tried loyalty should be given administrative posts. The Indian Councils Act, 1871, empowered local legislatures to confer jurisdiction on magistrates, in certain cases over European British subject. In other cases, if the accused person was a European British subject and he committed an offence for which an Indian would under existing law be triable exclusively before the Court of Sessions, or the offence was one which, in the opinion of the Magistrate, ought to be tried in High Court, the said European British subject could claim trial before the High Court.

In 1871, the local Legislatures were empowered by an Act to amend and repeal certain laws regarding the liability of European British subjects to be convicted and punished. Three years later the Indian Councils Act was further amended to increase the number of the ordinary Members of the Council of the Governor-General of India to six. The power was, however, reserved by the Queen to reduce the number of Members of the Council of the Governor-General, meaning thereby that it would not be necessary for the British Parliament to pass an Act if Government wanted to reduce the number of the Members of the Council. These amendments of the law were of political importance inasmuch as the intention was to increase the number of Indians in the Council of the Governor-General.

By the Councils of India Act, 1876 (39 Victoria, Ch. 7), the Secretary of State for India was authorised

to appoint persons with professional or other peculiar qualifications to be the Members of his Council.

The next important change came in the year 1892 when an Act was passed amending the Indian Councils Act of 1861 (55 and 56 Victoria, Ch. 14). Under the new Act, the Governor-General's Council was expanded and not more than sixteen Members could be appointed by the Governor-General under the provision of Indian Councils Act of 1868, and the number of additional Members of the Council nominated by the Governors of Bombay and Madras under section 29 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, could be not less than 8 and not more than 20. Under this Act, the maximum number fixed for Bengal was 20 and 15 for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

The power to frame rules for the nomination of Members was given to the Governor-General-in-Council. Another important provision made in this Act was that any proposal regarding expenditure in the annual financial statement which was to be laid before the Council had to be with the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. The power to fill up vacancies among the additional members was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, the Governor or the Lieutenant-Governor, as the case might be. The power to repeal was also given to the Indian Legislature, provided the previous sanction of the Governor-General had been obtained.

In 1909, Legislative Councils were created in the Provinces of the Panjab, Burma, East Bengal and Assam. In the Panjab and Burma, the number was fixed at 30 and in East Bengal and Assam 50. In the Governor-General's Council the maximum number was fixed at 60. In the Provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the maximum number was 50. The Members of the Executive Council became ex-officio Members of the Legislative Councils. The

number of non-official Members of this Council was also fixed. Under the Act of 1861, one half of the members of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General and of the Governor of Madras and Bombay were to be non-officials and at least one-third of the members of other Legislative Councils were similarly to be non-officials. Till 1909, it was not necessary that Officials should be in majority in the Legislative Councils. But in practice, the officials always were in a majority. Under the Act of 1861 the Governor-General and the Governors nominated the Members of the Legislative Councils. An Act was passed in 1892 by which nominations were required to be in accordance with the rules framed by the Governor-General-in-Council and approved by the Secretary of State. Specific persons and bodies and institutions were given the right of recommending suitable persons. It was not binding that the recommendations should be accepted but in practice they were. Till 1908, there was no communal representation.

When the East India Company had acquired Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the Crown of England had established Courts of Justice in these three Presidency towns through Charters. The Common and the Statute law of England was made applicable to these towns. The Charter of 1753 by George the Second reconstituted Mayors' Courts in these three Presidency towns. The British had not developed any judicial system of administration in countries other than their own. In the territories held by the East India Company, therefore, no change could take place, so long as the sovereignty of the Mughul Emperor was effective. The people of India were used to be governed by the laws promulgated by the Mughul Sovereign. With the expansion of British influence in Indian territories, this policy also gradually changed. The intention

of the British Government at home was to remove all vestiges of Mughul supremacy and to replace indigenous legal and administrative policies by new ones so that the people might feel that a change had taken place in the administration. Macaulay's appointment was in pursuance of this policy. He set about drafting a general Code of Criminal Procedure, of Evidence and of Civil Procedure.

There could not be any change in the civil rights of the citizens in suits regarding marriage, inheritance and caste and other religious usages and institutions; *Pandits* and *Muftis* continued to be employed under East India Company's administration for the purpose of assisting law courts in arriving at decisions. The establishment of Supreme Court at Calcutta in the year 1773 and of the Recorders Courts at Madras and Bombay and later of High Courts made these contemplated changes easily adaptable.

The Lex Loci Act of 1832, declared that the regulations hitherto in force were to apply to such persons only as were bonafide professors of those religions at the time of the application of the law to the case and were designed for the protection of the rights of such persons. Another Act in 1850 made the application of personal law more comprehensive. Problems arose of cases in which neither Muslims nor Hindus were parties. There were Parsis, Armenian, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Bhuddhists and others. In some cases their text-books were not authentic and could be of no help in the correct interpretation of law. It was decided that Acts of Parliament should be made applicable to such cases. The principle of Muslim Law that where rules and regulations did not exist, courts should decide on the principle of justice, equity and good conscience, however, became the guiding principle in the decision of cases.

The laws which were hitherto enacted by the British Parliament for the East Indian territories came within the purview of the Indian Legislatures created under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. By this Act all the Indian Legislatures were remodelled. The Governor-General's Executive Council was also enlarged while additional members of the Governor-General's Council were given full powers to legislate for the Indian territories. In respect of constitutional and other important matters, however, the Secretary of State for India possessed the final power of approval. If any legislation was repugnant to the Act of Parliament, it could not be introduced.

The Indian Councils Act of 1869 increased the legislative powers of the Governor-General's Council and empowered the Legislature to enact laws for all Indian subjects of the British Queen in any part of the world whether in India or not.

Another important modification in the machinery of legislation was introduced by the Government of India Act, 1870. The Governor-General was given power to legislate more or less in his discretion for the non-Regulation areas on the ground that they were less advanced parts of the subcontinent. The Governor-General was also empowered to overrule his Council. The Councils Acts of 1871 and 1874 further made extensions in the powers of the local Legislatures.

The Indian High Courts Acts of 1861 and 1865 empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to pass orders regarding limits of the jurisdiction of the several chartered High Courts. We have, therefore, series of Acts passed by the Indian Legislature after 1861.

The first edition of the Code of Civil Procedure was passed in 1859, of the Code of Criminal Procedure, in 1861, the Indian Succession Act, in 1865, the Hindu Wills Act, in 1870, the Indian Evidence Act, in 1872,

the Indian Contract Act, in 1872, the Specific Relief Act, in 1877, the Probate and Administration Act, in 1881, the Negotiable Instruments Act, in 1881, Transfer of Property Act, in 1882, the Indian Trust Act, in 1882, the Indian Easement Act, in 1882 and the Guardians and Wards Act, in 1890.

In this manner the broad outlines of the legal structure were clearly defined by the end of the century.

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Volume I

Page	Line	For	Read
10	2-3	Salman Sawaji	Mas'ud Sa'd Salman
10	14	Qutb-ud-din Aibak	Khusraw Malik
44	2 from bottom	far-sighted	far-sightedness
75	note 1, line 1	<i>Akham</i>	<i>Ahkam</i>
77	13	1699	1707
81	18	Truani	Turani
84	11 from bottom	a attitude	a conciliatory attitude
110	14	to the	to be
126	9	the	that
135	note 2, lines 1-2 from bottom	<i>Mashalukha-i-Chist</i>	<i>Mashaikh-i-Chist</i>
138	note 1, line 1	Bhangwan	Bhagwan
175	3	later's	latter's
192	3	pay	to pay
192	2 from bottom	prosterity	posterity
196	4 from bottom	Pesbwa	Peshwa
211	1	new	now
235	'	Khwajah	Khajwah
316	3	raised	razed
347	6 from bottom	over	overt
364	1 & 4 from bottom	adventures	adventurers
400	13	than the	the then
491	12	unwieldly	unwieldy
492	11	importing	imparting
493	1	well-high	well-nigh
497	1	of on	on
497	last	Ibn-ur-'Arabi	Ibnul-'Arabi
498	1	attempt	attempt
502	5 from bottom	Muhammad bin Ishaq Waqidi	Abu 'Abdallah Muham-mad bin 'Umar al-Waqidi.
517	note 3, line 3	(1716-1748)	(1719-1748)
526	note 3, line 2	<i>Ma'asir-ul-Abrar</i>	<i>Ma'asir-ul-Abrar</i>
555	16	Mulana	Maulana
571	2 from bottom	اشت	است
576	note 1, line 1	<i>Fatwa-l-'Azizi</i>	<i>Fatawa-i-'Azizi</i>
597	note, last line	Abul 'Ali Nadwi	Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi

Volume II (Parts I & II)

37	10	1858	1848
94	17	matchlook	matchlock
98	5	rigor	rigour
117	8-9 from bottom	he wrote	wrote
130	20	its	the
132	note 2	1293	1263
139	9	on	an
170	note 1	Abu Ravi ibn Sabih al-Saidi al-Basari	Abu Haf's Rabi' b. Sa'ih al-Sa'di al-Basari
180	12	Muhaddis	Muhandis
181	note 1	<i>Ibn</i>	<i>Abu</i>

Page	Line	For	Read
193	21	Satīf-ud-dīn	Safī-ud-dīn
195	8	protraying	portraying
208	8	tests	taste
223	10	grands-in-aid	grants-in-aid
238	5	day	days
243	note 1, line 7	جان	وہاں
276	15	signal. a	signal."2
276	16	when 2	when a
298	note 3	Garratt	Garratt
306	1	fought the morning on of	fought on the morning of
306	6 from bottom	On	In
309	13	he	the
331	4	evry men	every man
331	17	latter	later
389	note 1, line 3	'Abu'i-Wafa	Abu'l-Wafa
389	note, last line	مبین	بینی
393	note 1, line 2	disussion	discussion
397	9	1886	1868
397	last line	freedon	freedom
428	16 from bottom	1908	1904
455	12	Sayyid-ul-Akbar	Sayyid-ul-Akhbar
458	9 from bottom	hear	near
458	7 from bottom	(peayers)	(prayers)
458	note 2, line 1	Moradaba	Moradabad
458	note 2, line 2	hadyiven	had given
460	15 from bottom	(1869)	(1861)
466	note 2, line 4	thl	they
484	13	M. ollin	M. Rollin
486	5	mentione	mentioned
492	4 from bottom	submension	subversion
539	9	1857	1837
547	9 and 11	Azad	Izad
547	4 from bottom	other	others
557	19	1753	1756
565	11 from bottom	1913	1813
569	3	unwieldy	unwieldy
573	8	Governor	Governors
577	4	Governor	Governors

